

Schooling- the Bosnian Way

*The maintenance of social and cultural
belonging through the field of Bosnian
education system*

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The maintenance of social and cultural belonging through the field of education

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Abstract

This thesis is grounded in a five and a half month anthropological fieldwork conducted in two secondary educational schools in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Through material gathered through participant observation, numerous conversations, semi-structural interviews and written and audio sources accessible in the public sphere, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the research question of how does education contribute to the maintenance of social and cultural belonging.

As stated the fieldwork was conducted in two high schools in Sarajevo, more precisely an elite school and a vocational high school. The thesis argues that when analysing an elite school in comparison to a vocational school it is fruitful to apply Bourdieuan theory.

The initial part of my fieldwork started by asking the following questions: How do young adults in Bosnia and Hercegovina experience being a part of the society, and how do they reason about their past and future? Does education contribute to the maintenance of social and cultural belonging among young people in Sarajevo, and if so, how? During the fieldwork experience as new knowledge was presented to me, new questions became relevant: How is the habitus of the young Bosnians changing and how is knowledge distributed in the society through high school education? My intention is to point to changes in the habitus by looking at what knowledge is seen as important in the education of the future generation. Also I seek to analyse schooling from a comparative perspective which results in exploration of the terms cultural, economic and symbolic capital. The latter is seen in relation to the students' social position.

In addition the last part of the thesis focuses on the political socialisation of young adults. The latter part seeks to explore certain implications on how and why the young generation reasons about the political life in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Acknowledgements

The period of time that I have been able to spend in Sarajevo and in the two schools has given me insight in the nexus of schooling in a geographical area and its identity politics. I have acquired a broader perception of the imagination and reasoning of the citizens of Sarajevo. Moreover, the fieldwork experience has given me a comparative perspective on being a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina prior to 1992 in relation to being a member of the contemporary public space. Equally important, I have gained an understanding of the similarities and differences to growing up as a member of the Norwegian society, and hence the experience and understanding of multiculturalism.

I would especially like to thank all the people in Sarajevo who have helped and me. The funny and entertaining students, the amazingly skilled teachers and especially the gatekeepers- thank you! You have my deepest appreciation and respect.

I would like to express my appreciation to my supervisor at the University of Oslo, Sarah Lund, who was a part of the thesis during the initial part of the writing, and who believed in the project. It is important to stress that I am responsible for the entire content in this thesis.

My family has been following this project, without inquiring too much. I hope that some of them will understand why the theme is interesting to me, and I am incredibly thankful for their support.

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Part I

Chapter 1: Introduction of the research topic and theoretical framework

Introducing the topic and research question

This thesis offers ethnographic descriptions on the Bosnian education system as stratified, which is a classic theme in social science. In addition, the thesis' focus on the significance of class and inequality in the Bosnian schooling system is a more rare qualitative approach. The historical and geopolitical realities in which the political system and thus the educational system have evolved are unique. Hence, I will argue that this qualitative research allows a description, and understanding of a unique schooling system.

Scholarly contributions have argued that educational systems contribute to a sense of belonging by formation of national identities. First, schools are the sites where literacy skills and dominant languages are spread. Also, in modern nation-states, cultural homogenization and identity are fostered through education. In addition, social stratification can be seen in relation to the education system. I was therefore interested in studying nation building in a school context.

In the post-war and post-socialist society it is important to look at the educational system in order to understand the challenges that are displayed, and to understand in which way the society is changing. I will argue that the education leads to certain implications regarding political socialisation, and I will describe why education is important for future generations in a Bosnian context.

The educational institutions are characterised by presentation of knowledge which is described in the national curricula and also local interpretations of what knowledge is important. The policy of the educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina is also influenced by the ideas of global governmentalsists who in this case are represented by international organisations. The schooling can be seen in line with the public sphere in general. The latter is challenged by many voices and one can feel the tensions and the struggle to define it. In line with this I have looked at the political socialisation of young people.

My fieldwork was conducted in two high schools in Sarajevo, an elite school and a vocational high school. When analysing an elite school in comparison to a vocational school it is fruitful to apply Bourdieuan theory. The initial part of my fieldwork started by asking the following questions: How do young adults in Bosnia and Hercegovina experience being a part of the society, and how do they reason about their past and future? Does education contribute to the maintenance of social and cultural belonging among young people in Sarajevo, and if so, how? During the fieldwork experience as new knowledge was presented to me, new questions became relevant: How is the habitus of the young Bosnians changing and how is knowledge distributed in the society through high school education? My intention is to point to changes in the habitus by looking at what knowledge is seen as important in the education of the future generation.

The elites are expected to be nation builders. Elite schools educate future leaders by constructing elite identities, and these leaders share an elite identity (see Bourdieu 1979). In relation to the latter the question of how do elite schools contribute to creation of belonging among the students is central to my fieldwork. In contrast to the elite school I apply ethnography from my fieldwork in the vocational school. This approach offers a comparative perspective on education of citizens in the Bosnian context.

The paper searches to explore the research question of how does education contribute to the maintenance of social and cultural belonging.

Introducing theoretical considerations of schooling

Voluminous scholarly contributions describe nation-building processes that take place through schooling. In *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976) Eugene Weber writes about the cultural homogenization that took place through mandatory schooling in France during the last quarter of the 19th century. Together with the conscription, the education system spread awareness of being French and contributed to nation-building in a country where various regional languages were spoken. More precisely, through schooling all citizens were introduced to the French language and a feeling of belonging to the French nation was spread. Prior to the mass nation-building process the elements which are crucial to being French were a part of the consciousness of only the middle and the upper class. Hence, the nation-building process spread the culture that belonged to the latter classes, and the peasants' cultural distinctions were lost. The schooling system made people living in the various regions of France literate and it made France into a unified nation. Bourdieu did also turn to education in order to examine systems of power in French society. In line with Weber, Bourdieu argued that in all stratified societies notions of citizenship and national belonging are constructed in the educational system. In chapter three I will present Bourdieu's theoretical framework. In chapter five I will apply the relevant concepts to analyse schooling as an arena where stratification is visible.

In contrast to Weber, Reed-Danahay (1996) analyses the school as an arena for the construction of local and national identity in rural France, and the ethnography offers a description of how the school setting is the place where the conflicts are visible. France is known for its highly centralised education system. More precisely, she describes how the struggle between the perfect image of a national identity and the local identity is far from hidden in the public sphere. Reed-Danahay argues that the local identity requires a part of the identity of the citizens, and the school is portrayed as a battlefield where parents and the teachers are the contributors to defining the students' understanding of their identity. In short, Reed-Danahay's focus explores both the private and the public sphere, and offers insight in French education by applying Bourdieu's theories on education. The anthropologist argues that French schooling has to be seen as relevant to negotiation of identity, adjacent to the contribution made by the negotiation of the students' parents that insist on transmission of aspects of local identity. Thus, Reed-Danahay insists on an understanding of schooling as a complex field in which teachers, parents and students negotiate with reference to both the state policy and the local history. I do not intend to say that the school system that I have

become acquainted with is solely responsible for creating a sense of belonging, but this is the sphere I can comment upon. In chapter four I will describe schooling as an arena which can be seen in relation to controversy and debates in the society in general.

Because of schooling's important role in a society, it might appear as a central battlefield (Grillo 1998 in Eriksen 2002:148). Changes in a society's cultural diversity create a need for adapting the educational system, to meet the demands of a state. Eriksen notes that: "Since, as Gellner, Anderson and others argued, standardised educational systems were a prerequisite for the emergence of a homogenised national identity, it stands to reason that a self-confessed culturally diverse society needs to adapt its educational system to accommodate the often contradictory demands for equality and difference." Different countries have treated this challenge differently. Homogeneous systems are a reality in many countries such as Norway and France, though there are many ways of organising a homogenous schooling. The contemporary Bosnian schooling system is not an example in line with the latter as the different ethno-religious groups (referred to as Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs) offer the citizens of the same state teaching in three different curricula.

Theoretical considerations of education nation-building

According to the nationalist ideology the members of a group belong to the same culture (Eriksen 2002:101). The cultural similarity of the members is described in contrast to the culture of the "others". Benedict Anderson's analysis argues that "nationality, or, as one might prefer to put it in view of that word's multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind" (Anderson 2006:4) and that "nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time" (Anderson 2006:3). The author defines a nation as "an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 2006:6) and argues that the "nation-ness" processes started with the political events in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century. The examination of how nations imagine themselves antique is based on the reasoning that only small communities such as primordial villages of face-to-face contact are to a degree not imagined. All other larger communities, and especially nations, are imagined because most of the members have never met or known each other. Nations are abstractly

imagined particularly because of the style of imagination (Eriksen 1993/2002:91). A nation is imagined as limited because it has boundaries and the purpose of nations is not to include all human beings. It is imagined as sovereign due to the birth of the concept in the age of Enlightenment and Revolution, and the ideas of freedom from the religions' and the dynasties' rule. The idea of scholarly perceiving it as being imagined as a community, Anderson argues, is due to the paradox that it is "conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship", yet, there is inequality and exploitation in each (Anderson 2006:7). Obviously, a nationalist would perceive the nation as antique.

In line with Anderson, Reed-Danahay writes that the school produces nationalism and constructs the nation as a population endowed with the same categories and therefore the same "common-sense" (Reed-Danahay 1995). A student expresses the shared view of the nation when asked about his country: "...because I was born here. I like the mix of cultures, religions, buildings.. because it has a history. Because this is a place (prostor) where there have been many peoples and everyone has left something that was theirs.. our history dates back to the Illyrs.. maybe we are one of the oldest civilizations in Europe". (grammar school student, age 17)

Eriksen, referring to A. D. Smith, notes that "the cultural continuity with the past which is emphasised by ethnic ideologists and national historians is not all make-believe and manipulative invention of the past". Eriksen notes that there are cases where present needs are covered by only fashioning group history. The challenge following such histories may become a reality when there is more than one version of history being taught in one geographical area, and especially when this occurs in the same neighbourhood.

Theorising political socialisation

Easton and Dennis (1965:50) have defined political socialisation as a term that "refers to the ways in which a society transmits political orientation; knowledge, attitudes or norms and values from generation to generation".

In this thesis, political socialization is a term used to describe the process in which individuals acquire and internalize the aspect of the culture of their society or group that is related to the transmission of political values and behaviours/attitudes from one generation to another. In

this respect the transmission of thoughts about the life of politics are formed as interplay of the values about which the family, the school and the media inform the young adults.

Coles commenting on his numerous studies of children's political attitudes argues that any political inclination has a "developmental history" (1986:49). In chapter six I will describe political socialisation in the Bosnian context.

Outline of the thesis

The first part of the second chapter presents the methodological reflections which are seen as relevant to the thesis. The intention in the second part of the chapter is to seek to contextualise the place and the social actors which are analysed throughout the thesis. Also, the two schools are contextualised and there is an introduction to Bosnian ethnography.

The third chapter presents the theoretical framework that will be applied to arrive at a meaningful analysis of the Bosnian education system. Chapter four seeks to show what is specific with Bosnian schooling by looking at the characteristics of the educational system in relation to the cultural context. Also, this part seeks to explore schooling arena in relation to the debates on the society and the public sphere.

Chapter five analyses the schooling practise in the two schools by applying Bourdieu's theoretical framework and focusing on the students' experiences of life in the schools. Primarily, I will use descriptions of the vocational school in order to give a better understanding of the grammar school. I do also describe how the students' imagine life in the future.

The last chapter presents and analyses the students' way of imagining and reasoning about the political life and the moral spheres. The descriptions of political life are analysed in relation to political socialisation of young adults.

Chapter 2: The setting and methodological reflections

Chapter 2 provides the methodological reflections and the setting for the thesis. This chapter is divided in two parts. In the first part I will introduce relevant reflections on access to the two schools and the social life of the informants. I will present the anthropological techniques I used in my research and write about my role in the field. Also, the first part concentrates on ethical considerations and anonymity.

The second part presents the setting for the thesis by introducing the country in which it took place, the city of Sarajevo and the students. After introducing Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sarajevo, the thesis introduces the informants and contextualises them as part of the ethno-religious group called Bosniaks, which refers to Bosnian Muslims. More, there is a contextualisation of the informants as students in the two schools and thus as belonging to two groups of the population (first and foremost in the economic sense). Lastly in this chapter there is a description of Bosnian ethnography.

Urban Anthropology and Access

In Bosnia and Herzegovina the family is an important unit and institution, though as part of an urban environment it can be harder to find a host family. My short field work in the town of Sarajevo did not include staying with a host family for a longer period of time and due to this my data has a focus on the public space. Marcus focuses on the multi-sited fieldwork as a way of dealing with methodological challenges in wider geographically and more populous areas, as in towns (see Marcus 1998).

Upon arrival in Sarajevo, I had been trying to look for accommodation prior to my fieldwork and I had been offered to share a flat with a student in the eastern part of Sarajevo. My flat mate informed me that the local schools had winter vacation in January, and while waiting for the vacation to end I had plenty of time to get to know the town and the locals. I started writing applications in Bosnian where I stated my interest in doing a fieldwork in Sarajevo schools, but as I was told that I had to apply to the local ministry of education and perhaps bribe officials, I realized soon that things could take time. When a friend of my flat mate told me that she could talk to her former teacher in a grammar school about my interest in schooling and about possible fieldwork permission from the school principal, I accepted the

offer. A couple of days later, I was invited to a meeting with the teacher at the grammar school and I was told that she would do her best in persuading the principal to grant me a permission. In my application, I included my research theme and I stated that the data would only be used in my thesis. I informed my informants about anonymity guidelines and that they could at any point choose not to participate in the project. I was granted permission to do fieldwork in the Grammar school and I was introduced to the teacher's room, the class rooms and the hallways of the school.

Though being in a class room is interesting, and quite often even entertaining, I realised that my notes were full of descriptions of the teacher-student relationship, in addition to notes of syllabus related terms. For three months, I had been watching the teachers' teach and the students answer in a way that they were expected to reply. This was the reason of my decision to spend time in one more school and through a friend of a friend I was introduced to a teacher in the Vocational high school. This teacher helped me with the application that the principal in this school approved. I soon realised that the everyday life of the teachers and the students in a vocational high school involves tremendous challenges. As I did not spend the equivalent amount of time in the vocational high school, I will use the empirical data from this school in order to contrast it to the data from the grammar school.

Throughout the whole fieldwork experience I applied what Wikan describes as the snowball-methods (see Wikan 1996:183). I started by being introduced to one person who introduced me to an acquaintance who again knew a person that could help me. The results of the networks I was introduced to are presented in this thesis. In this respect it is mere luck that I was introduced to the gatekeepers and the people who were parts of networks that became of crucial importance to me.

Hence, from January and until mid June 2009, I spent my time in the two schools with the Sarajevans that I became friends with and in the landscape of and in the streets of Sarajevo. I did also join the students and the teachers on a school trip in the surrounding landscape, and I was more than thankful to being invited on a travel to one of the neighbouring countries with the teachers. These trips gave me insight into their lives where the school roles were less strict. I soon realised that my notes from the vocational school did not include "course notes" only, but covered the talk between teachers and the student that was less relevant to the courses the students were taking.

Anthropological techniques

In the initial part of the writing process my supervisor Sarah Lund reminded me of how anthropologists do anthropology. She stressed the importance of the approach of going out and walking with informants to gain insight. During my time in Sarajevo I accomplished participant observation in two senior high-schools, and I conducted semi-structured interviews with the students. I searched local and international newspapers for information on a daily basis. Being a native speaker, I had access to net forums, radio- and TV channels as well as the everyday talk of my informants.

Initially, I had planned to conduct semi-structured interviews during the last weeks of my stay in order to be able to get to know the students before asking them about themes that I found interesting. I had hoped to get a broader picture of their social background without asking directly. In addition, despite the limitation regarding access to the households in the fieldwork process, the interviews gave me data about the private sphere and the economic and social conditions of the students. The information about the private sphere that is presented in this thesis is based on the students' personal reflections and experience. During the interviews, I had a digital recorder and a note book, and at other times I was carrying a note book that I noted key words in. I wrote a diary based on the key words and head notes from the field (Sanjek 1990). It is also important to mention that some of the questions, that I decided to put forward in the end of my field work, were of the type: "Try to imagine...". By asking the questions in this way, the students did not struggle to give me a certain answer, but were rather answering as a part of a brain storming conversation and I could ask additional questions to follow up certain views that I found interesting. The interviews appeared rather as conversations and I realized that I gained an insight to the students' imaginations, as I was given data on the way they were reasoning and imagining their society before they concluded.

All of the quotes are my translations from the local language.

Reflections on my role in the field

My interest in education is due to my profession as a teacher with tutorial experience from schools in Oslo, and I wanted to gain comparative insight into this theme. Throughout the thesis I draw upon my own experiences as a teacher with experience from the Norwegian context and in this way I apply a self-referential approach to the theme of study. My previous trips to other towns in the area had been triggered by my interest in the nation building processes in the countries in the Western Balkans. The reason why my geographical site became Sarajevo is due to several methodological and practical considerations. I am considered to be a Herzegovinian, which is the regional term for a person from the Herzegovina area. I attended my two first years of schooling in Mostar and my relatives live in this area of the country. My third year of schooling took place in Croatia, where Bosnians had the status of refugees. The rest of my upbringing, I experienced as a member of the Norwegian society and belonging to the Bosnian diaspora. Being familiar with the Herzegovina area, I considered it more appealing to explore a new part of the country. In a highly politicized society, I assumed that a fieldwork in *Republika Srpska* was impossible to me. Being defined as a Bosniak and not being a Sarajevan, or Bosnian in the sense of belonging to the regional distinction, Sarajevo as the political and economic capital of the *Federacija* seemed as a good choice. By choosing this field of site, I gained both closeness and distance.

During the fieldwork I was introduced as a student in the field of anthropology at the University of Oslo. The students were told that I am originally from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but that I live abroad. The fact that I was older than the teenagers attending the school is likely to have limited my access to information. This was an unexpected limitation and I found it difficult to invite myself to the students' homes, though I became familiar with some families through people who are a part of the same networks. However, my role as Bosnian diaspora contributed to situations where the students often filled the need to explain things to me to make sure that I understood what they meant. Quite often the students told me their opinion about the teachers and I did think that they showed an interest in my fieldwork because they wanted to escape the lessons they did not prefer. My access to the teachers' conversations and personal and more collective concerns did also improve with time, and I was invited to meetings and school trips. The teachers' showed vast general knowledge on numerous themes and their knowledge in their respective subjects made an impression on me, and I was thankful for their advice and favours during my stay in general.

Cultural blindness can be defined as both distance and closeness. Being a part of the diaspora, and being from the southern part of the country did make me feel like a non-Sarajevan, both in terms of cultural shared knowledge and in terms of language. My Herzegovinian accent differs from the Sarajevan dialect. I was familiar with relevant cultural categories, though I realised that the Mostar-area which is very familiar to me, differs slightly from the categories of the capital. In the beginning I had great difficulties expressing my views in an academic environment and my Norwegian way of being did not pay attention to the social hierarchy in the Bosnian society. There was especially an incident that made me focus on the hierarchical aspects of the society as I had not introduced myself to the principal during the first months of the fieldwork. When the principal met me by a coincidence I was informed that I should have introduced myself in a polite and proper way. The public sphere is characterized by formal politeness, and I still have to remind myself of the usage of “please” and “You” when talking to strangers or elders.

Ethical considerations and anonymity

In the begging of the fieldwork everyone was introduced to the theme and to the purpose of the participant observation. The teachers and other employees were welcoming and some of the teachers informed the students that they are lucky to be given the chance to have a “voice”. The students were eager to participate and some even asked if I could include their name in the thesis.

In general to keep the two schools identity anonymous has been a challenge as Sarajevo is geographically and in terms of population a small town. Due to this, I apply the names the Grammar school and Vocational school. A broader description of the landscapes surrounding the students would have made it possible to recognize the schools, though in small places it is almost impossible to walk unnoticed by the locals. The students were 17 years old during my fieldwork and as I was aware of this, I talked to the staff at the schools about data collection and the students being under age. I was told that the principals’ permissions were valid. Still, I have tried to keep the students’ identity anonymous as my data did include sensitive information about the students’ background.

The Setting

Bosnia and Herzegovina and the historical events¹

Bosnia and Herzegovina (designated here as BiH) is situated in the western part of the Balkan peninsula in south-east Europe. It has a population of approximately four million people. Given its geographical location and historical legacies over the centuries the culture in BiH has significant traits and there is a cultural diversity.



Figure 1 Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Retrieved from sitesatlas.com)

During the Neolithic age the Illyrians settled in the area which today is referred to as Bosnia. The Slavs started settling in the area around year 600 AD, followed by the Serbs and Croats. After the 10th century the Serbs and Croats were Christianised. Due to the split of Christianity there is a Catholic Christian community, referred to as Croat, and an Orthodox Christian community, referred to as Serb, in BiH (Malcolm 2002 in Kokvik 2010:24-25). The country

¹ The complexity of Bosnian history, see Malcolm 2002.

is situated in an area that was ruled by Kings of Bosnia from 1370's and till 1463 when the Ottomans conquered it. BiH was a part of the Ottoman Empire till 1878 when Austria-Hungary seized the territory (Donia 2006:84). With the Ottoman system the mass conversion to Islam took place, and in literature this part of the population has been analysed as European Muslims. In 1918 after World War I it became a part of the First Yugoslavia (which means the country of the south Slavs), also known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and from 1942 to 1992 it was a part of the Socialist Federative Republic Yugoslavia.

In March 1992 Bosnia and Herzegovina gained independence and was recognized as independent and in April 1992 the war started. It ended officially in December 1995. The historical events during the war and in the post-war and post-Yugoslavia period changed the society in a tremendous way, and lead to a reordering of human geography. It is estimated that between 100 000 and 200 000 people died during the war. More than 2 million out of a total pre-war population of 4.3 million were internal or external refugees (Kolind 2008:20). In addition to genocide and mass killings of civilians, the war left cultural places and religious places in ruins.

In December 1995, the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed and this defined the end of war as well as a country that is composed of two entities. Moreover, three domains of governance were made legitimate, resulting in a weak central government. The political settlement encompasses the three nationalist parties. Thus, the Bosnian Serbs control one entity, Republic of the Serb people (*Republika Srpska*, RS) which encompasses 49% of the country, while the other entity, the Federation of Bosnia and Hercegovina (*Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine*, FED) which includes 51% of the country, is controlled by shared power between Croats and Bosniaks (Dahlman and O'Tuathail (2005:580). Furthermore, the RS has a majority Bosnian-Serb population while the FED has a mainly Bosnian-Muslim² and Bosnian-Croat population.

Dahlman and O'Tuathail (2005) argue that the warlords' gains were given international approval in the map drawn on Dayton. Geographically, the result was territorial separation and ethnonationalist homelands. Though the Dayton Agreement guaranteed the right to return for displaced persons, this is impossible due to obstructions that people who return meet (see

² Referred here to as Bosniak.

Dahlman and O ´ Tuathail 2005:569-599). The ethnonationalist leaders that were left in place after the war do still continue to make reconciliation impossible, and this is visible in their rhetoric and actual policy. The American political geographers characterize the situation as “apartheid geography”. The demographical changes and the displacement are manifested in everyday challenges. In addition, the country is in the process of transition to becoming a democracy in which the economy is governed according to capitalist laws.

From an anthropological perspective it is important to analyse the change from being a socialist society in which the private and the public sphere were kept separate, to becoming a society in which the public and the private sphere are not marked by rigorous boundaries (Perry 2003). I will describe this in chapter four and six.

Introducing Sarajevo: History Sits In Places

Sarajevo as the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the economic, cultural and intellectual centre of the *Federacija*. It has been facing great demographic changes during the two last decades, with social and cultural implications.

Before the war Sarajevo had 527,049 inhabitants (Donia 2006:266). According to the 1991 census, the Sarajevo municipality had a population of 6,6 % Croats, 49,2% Muslims, 29,8% Serbs, 10,7% Yugoslavs and 3,6% Other. Today it is estimated that there are 392 000 people living in Sarajevo (CIA World Factbook), though there has not been any official census since 1991. It is estimated that the population consists of approximately 85%

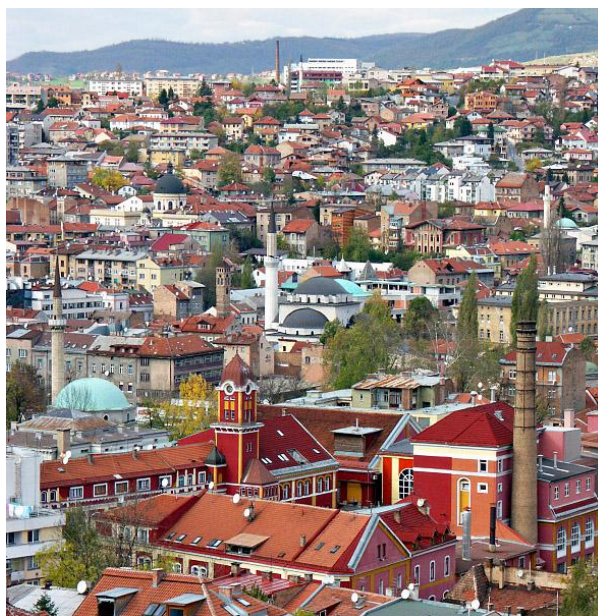


Figure 2 Sarajevo landscape (Photo: Alan Grant 2004)

Bosniaks which makes it the majority group. The city lies in the Sarajevo valley and is surrounded by hills and three mountains, *Bjelašnica*, *Igman* and *Trebević*. The river *Miljacka* is running through the core of the town. While Sarajevo is a part of the *Federacija*, it borders to *Republika Srpska* and the area that is called *Novo Sarajevo*, New Sarajevo, where the majority belongs to the Serbian population.

In Sarajevo, I will imply history sits in places. Donia argues that “On the spectrum between experience and imagination expounded by Benedict Anderson, Sarajevo is more an experienced than an imagined community.” Donia’s argument can be seen in relation to a phenomenological approach to the interplay between man and landscape, as dynamic and mutually constructive (Basso 1996, Casey 1996). During one of my first days in town I had the privilege of being introduced to a guided tour in the city’s landscape. While walking alone, I had asked an elderly man about the way and instead of explaining the way, my new acquaintance offered to show me the core of the town. This presented and introduced me to the places that a Sarajevan, a *Sarajlija*, see as important. The elderly gentleman introduced



2008)

me to Ali Pasha's mosque, Tito's Street (*Titova*), *Ferhadija street*³, Presidency building and the Foreign Ministry building⁴, the Eternal Flame (*Vječna vatra*, see Figure 3), The Sarajevo Roses (see Figure 4), the Chess players⁵, the Catholic Cathedral⁶, the Orthodox Church⁷, the Sarajevo Synagogue, the *Baščaršija* area⁸, The Martyrs' Memorial Cemetery Kovaci⁹, the Jajce Fort, *Vijećnica*¹⁰ and *Latinska ćuprija*¹¹.

Figure 3 The Eternal Flame (*Vječna vatra*)¹² (Photo: Jaime Silva

³ Prior to 1992 the Ferhadija street (which according to the elderly gentleman today bears its original name used prior to the WWII) used to be called *Vase Miskina* street, who was a WWII communist partisan.

⁴ As we passed the Presidency building and the Foreign Ministry building, my new friend explained how politicians in this country are bad people and how they only care about themselves and their families.

⁵ My new acquaintance told me that different groups of local men come to a certain place to play chess, to give advice to the ones who are playing, to watch or to meet others. Most of the men playing are pensioners crowded together around the game.

⁶ The Cathedral of Jesus' Heart.

⁷ The Cathedral Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos.

⁸ The *Baščaršija*-area is the name of the Old Town of Sarajevo, characterized by its Ottoman-Turkish style, medieval pink stones and wooden shops where goldsmiths, cobblers and coppersmiths made diverse handicrafts.

⁹ In the cemetery old man stood still looking at the graves of the martyrs (people belonging to the Muslim group of the population that had died during the war). There were numerous white pavestones with the inscription of the shehids' names, birthdates and the dates of death.

¹⁰ This is the City Hall building that served as the National and University Library until this pseudo-moorish style building was completely destroyed by Serb nationalist bombardment. According to Donia the libraries housed two million volumes in 1990 (Donia 2006:222).

¹¹ This is the Latin Bridge built in Ottoman style. During the Yugoslavia-era the bridge used to be called *Principov most*, the Princip Bridge. In 1914 at the end of this bridge, the Austro-Hungarian throne-heir Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip and this event is often described as the beginning of World War I.

¹² This flame burns constantly in the memory of all the civilian victims and militaries of World War II. This place was of significant value to the Sarajevan, it is a symbol of the power of the people and resistance, and a symbol of the antifascist past of the town. The inscription states: "With Courage and the Jointly Spilled Blood of the Fighters of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian Brigades of the Glorious Yugoslav National Army; with the Joint Efforts and Sacrifices of Sarajevan Patriots Serbs, Muslims and Croats on the 6th of April 1945 Sarajevo, the Capital City of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was liberated. Eternal Glory and Gratitude to the Fallen Heroes of the liberation of Sarajevo and our Homeland, On the First Anniversary of its Liberation--a Grateful Sarajevo"

The movement through places that people have everyday engagement with was supplemented by story-telling about social, commemorative and religious spaces. This experience gave me an impression of how a Sarajevan experiences the core of Sarajevo life. This landscape is the area in which my informants move and it is here their experiences of different aspects of social life are formed. The description of the public spaces is relevant to understand the regional and the multicultural context. The conceptual and the semantic world of my informants, as well as identity and sense of locality, is formed in the Sarajevan landscape. I do not intend to discuss whether the towns repute as multiethnic or multireligious is questionable, but the landscape consists of buildings from different epochs and religious and social spaces which are all remains of Bosnian cultural heritage. This is relevant to understand the spatial context in which my informants feeling of belonging is formed, and in which history plays a central role.

Civilians were targeted frequently, by the Bosnian Serbs nationalist forces, during the Siege of Sarajevo that lasted from April 5, 1992 to February 29, 1996 and the UN estimates that



10 000 people were killed and 56 000 were wounded. What happened in the past, to “us”, the Sarajevans, is documented in collective memory and is reproduced through different aspects of the social life, including the educational system. What it means to be Sarajevan today is experienced in relation to past events, which are historical accounts about “us” and the surrounding landscape.

Figure 4 Sarajevo Roses (Photo: Aida Golic 2009)¹³

¹³ During the first days of May, a place of commemoration was newly painted with red dye as the colour tends to erase during the year. The place is in the main street of the core of Sarajevo, *Ferhadija*, and on this place civilians lost their lives during the siege of the town. This is visible by the pattern made by the fall and explosions of mortar shells. In addition to the red dye, the place was decorated with roses. The red colour may be brought into relation with human blood and the loss of lives. The place where the roses lay is a place of commemoration and it reminds the citizens of the sacrifice made by the citizens of Sarajevo. Such commemorative places in the landscape are a reminder of the past (see photo).

The experience of Sarajevo and the *Sarajevan raja*

In general, the people that I became familiar with, were eager to tell me about the city. They told me about their relations to the different places and their memories. The students that I met were all stressing that they love the city and its people, the Sarajevan *raja*. The students explained how they love the Sarajevan Spirit: “Sarajevo has soul, the city has spirit, Sarajevan spirit.” (“*Sarajevo ima dušu, grad ima duh. Sarajevski duh.*”)

The term Sarajevan Spirit refers to living in the landscape of the town and interacting in the Sarajevan way. The first refers to the historical aspects of the town and living in it as a citizen, as the students believed that Sarajevo as the capital of the country and the historical events the city has gone through represents something specific and unique. This specific aspect is characterised by the city’s multicultural landscape. Second, one of the aspects of the Sarajevan community that the students like is the socialisation and way of life. Especially, the generosity and humour was seen as specific to Sarajevo, as well as the country in general. The inhabitants that are a part of Sarajevo were called Sarajevan *raja*.

The participants

My main informants were attending either the grammar school or the vocational school. All of the students that I met were approximately 17 years old. In the grammar school there was an equal proportion of female and male students that came to be my main informants. In the vocational school I was only introduced to male students and there were none female students in the group that I spent my time with. During the semi-structured interviews I interviewed 20 students from the grammar school and approximately 12 students from the vocational high school.

I started my fieldwork in the grammar school, and two months later I was given access to the vocational school, though I structured my weekdays according to the subjects the students in the two schools had. For instance, if the students in the grammar school were attending Math and Informatics classes, I would prefer to stay in the vocational school.

Besides, though spent I more time in the grammar school than in the vocational school, it was easier to have conversations with the students in the latter. Perhaps this was because they were more “bored” and saw my presence as an excuse to avoid thinking of school obligations, while the students in the first school were more focused. On the contrary, it was much harder to get the students in the vocational school to talk during the semi-structured interviews, while the students in the grammar school understood my questions more profoundly. Moreover, some of the students in the vocational school were hesitating to answer as they were wondering if there was a correct answer. On a few occasions, I tried to chat about less relevant themes as the students’ answers led to conversations about other issues.

The students and “the other”

Bringa points out that none of the studies carried out by various groups of researchers, which describe either relations of hate or the ideal multicultural society, reflect her understanding of the people she has been studying for over 20 years. Regarding relationships between and thoughts about other ethno-religious groups, Bringa describes both tolerance and prejudice, and she points out that there were differences between rural and urban areas and that “attitudes depended on age and the sociocultural environment in which a person had grown up” (Bringa 1995:3-4).

Due to the changed demography, my main group of participants was Sarajevan Bosniaks as these belong to the majority group in Sarajevo. In what follows, I have not specifically pursued the dimension of ethnicity. I have not focused on the dimension of ethnicity as I found it difficult to elaborate on it due to the fact that the students that I was introduced to belonged either to the majority group or were children from mixed marriages where one of the parents belonged to the majority group. Furthermore, my limited access to the private sphere was a challenge to collecting data on the ethnicity line of research.

In BiH a person’s name indicates (Bringa 1995:18-20, Kokvik 2010:25) ethnic background and as I looked through the lists of students granted admission to the two schools it became obvious that there were a few students that had names which are associated with the minority groups in Sarajevo. These students were present in the school yard, but were not a part of the groups that I spent my time with. Also, during the time that I saw them spending with their class-mates they would probably be considered as Sarajevans because they had stayed in the

city during the war. Moreover, in contrast to my informant group's homogenous characteristics it is likely that frequent utterances about the "other" or interaction where ethnicity is made relevant is more likely to occur in places where the minority group is represented in a greater number. While talking to the students it became clear that they have friends who belong to the Croat minority, and most had relatives who are Croat or Serbs. Thus, the relations between members that belong to different groups are a matter of personal experiences.

Besides, there were teachers that talked about the need for arenas where young people can meet, and especially a teacher in the vocational school uttered a request for cooperation between the schools in the *Federacija* and the schools in *Republika Srpska*. The altered demography which has led to lack of communication between the two parts of the country is a challenge that threatens the future aspects of the young people and the country's image in the world.

When change appears in such a short stretch of time, people have trouble making sense of the changing circumstances. Bringa describes how her anthropological training had not "prepared her to deal with the rapid and total disintegration of the community she was studying" and she points to a lack of theoretical models that could make her understand how the people she was studying made sense of their experiences of the collapse of the moral and civic pluralism. Several students expressed that they could not grasp the previous war and the changes it had brought. Moreover, the students expressed that they could not grasp how the beginning of the war could take place. Perhaps, the reason to this is that the parents' are not able to explain why it all suddenly started.

The informants: ethnic group and constituent people

During the interviews a student that showed rhetorical skills and that was well-articulated stated: "*Bosnian a term used to describe all the people in BiH, as citizens we are Bosnians. We have Slavic roots. Bosnians are Croats, Serbs and Bosniacs. In national terms I am a Bosniac.*" When asked about their national or cultural belonging, other students uttered statements similar to the following, that they are "*Bosniak, as one of the three constituent*

peoples, though I think that it'd be better if we could remove those three.. and could be Bosnian-Herzegovinians.” Students often stressed that all people have the right to decide what he or she “is”. By one student this was described as multi-nationalism, and Sarajevo was described as a multinational and multicultural city. All students showed strong awareness of the city’s and the country’s multicultural background and history.

The students reasoning on national identity terms can be seen in the light of the Dayton agreement as the document stated that the state consists of three *constituent peoples*; Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs, and the “Others”. The most prominent factor here is to give three groups equal right to participation in governing the state. Hence, participation in political life is restricted for the people that declare themselves as “Other”.

Religion is the main constitutive factor that distinguishes the three people. Today, the term Bosniak refers to not only the national but also the ethnical identity of a Muslim person in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this context, the term Croat refers to both the ethnical and national identity of a Catholic Christian person in the country. Also, the term Serb refers to a person of Orthodox Christian belief or belonging. The people that do not declare to be one of the three constituent peoples are described as “Other”. The statement of three *constituent peoples* is a legal term with numerous aspects in the institutional life, though I will not explore the term nor its implications in daily life. However, it is important to mention that the practice of operating with such terms and the implementation of the system has been regarded as discriminating towards the people that live in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that do not belong to any of the three groups. In addition to the three constituent peoples there are 17 legally recognized minorities in the country.

Localizing the schools and the informants

As earlier mentioned, my fieldwork focused on two high schools educating different groups of students. In general, admission to the school is given according to the list of credentials. Enrolment exams are done prior to gaining admission to the grammar, technical and similar schools (though there is no enrolment exam in vocational high schools), and the enrolment is the responsibility of the committees the schools appoint (see portal.skola.ba).

I followed students attending the second, third and fourth year of the grammar school education. The students that I came to know in the vocational high school were in their second year of the three year course. In both schools, my main informants were approximately seventeen years old.

During the semi-structural interviews the students confirmed that the homes of the students in the two schools were located in different parts of the town. In general, there was a difference between the housing situation of children of well-off people and the ones who came from low income families. It became obvious that young adults that came from low income families either had a longer travel from their home to the school or lived in less privileged areas of the town. In particular, there were a few students who travelled for several hours, and one of them lived in a remote and rural mountain area. On the other hand, children of the well-off people lived in the areas close to the core of the town.

Like the peer groups in other countries who are the same age the students I met like to spend time with their friends and their everyday life is characterized by fewer worries and concerns than older generations. Young people in Sarajevo like being social and participate in spare-time activities. Together with friends they do sports or listen to urban rock bands and other contemporary music, though they also admit listening to the versions of turbo folk that are widely spread in the geographic area. Regarding the students in the two schools the clothing differences are not visible at first. They wear jeans and t-shirts or sweaters, though in general in the grammar school there are more students that wear formal shirts and very few students wear flashy accessories. Girls' clothing is also characterised by formal clothes or a more urban though well-mannered look.

Introducing Bosnian ethnography

Bringa argues that “being Muslim the Bosnian way” is not determined by Islamic doctrine or distinctively religious values, neither as self-ascription nor as ascription. Being Muslim and being Catholic was rather about personal and community identity in this particular place (Eickelman and Piscatori in Bringa 1995: xii). Bringa’s analysis argues that Muslim identity “cannot be understood fully with reference to Islam only, but has to be considered in terms of a specific Bosnian dimension which implied sharing history with Bosnians of other non-Islamic traditions” (Bringa 1995: 173). This includes that “being Muslim” was defined in contrast to non-Muslim groups in the neighbourhood of Bringa’s informants, and not in terms of knowledge about Islamic doctrine and ritual (Eickelman and Piscatori in Bringa 1995: xii). Relations between neighbours belonging to different groups were based on reciprocity and interaction on a daily basis was part of everyday life. In towns, mixed marriages were common. Bringa’s description of the Bosnian Muslim group is from the prewar period and based on a rural setting. I have looked at the same group, which today is called “Bosniaks” and I chose to do fieldwork in an urban setting. The peoples in BiH are related historically, though since 1992 separated physically in many parts of the country.

Bringa describes the very local understanding of the difference between the terms nation and nationality. During the Yugoslavia period, the term *narod*, which refers to people or nation, was applied in public spaces. The categories applied were Muslim, Croat and Serb. Bringa’s informants described themselves as *nacija*, as ethnoreligious groups, though the state sought to foster secular identities. The public space was secular and a religious language was not favoured. Bringa’s ethnography is said to document that Bosnian Muslims were unsure of what they were, in opposition to what they were not- which they were aware of. They were neither Croats nor Serbs. It was first in the general elections of 1991 that Bosnian Muslims could declare themselves as Muslims. In the post-war period, Bosniak has been the officially supported term for Bosnian Muslims. In this paper, I will not go further into these terms, but it is important to understand that religion is what makes the different groups of people in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina different. The Constitution, The Dayton Agreement, states that there are only three constituent people, Bosniak, Croat and Serb. Each of these refers to the belonging to an ethnoreligious group, which means that the rest, including children in mixed marriages, have to declare themselves as one of the three options or “other”.

One of the students, that was described as the one who read a lot about history and politics, stated the following: “...until.. I assume 1972 or 1974.. a country called Bosnia and Herzegovina existed, but there was no nation. It is like imagining there had been a Germany, but no German nation existed. For that reason, we could call ourselves Serbs or Croats, because the Croats had a nation, they had a national identity. The Serbs had a national identity...a Bosnian, referring to a Muslim, had to choose whether one wanted to be a Serb, a Croat or an Unstated... and then when that constitution was created, we got the national belonging Muslim. Because, a muslim is a person belonging to the Islamic ummah, the religion Islam, and it is not a member of the Bosnian nation. We should have been called Bosnians and Herzegovinians, Bosniaks or similar.. It is just like imagining that in Europe there exists a country called France, but that the people that live there are Englishmen and Germans, and no French people.”

In what follows, I have not pursued the dimension of gender in relation to schooling or the related themes. Especially when studying Muslim societies scholars discuss gender and consider the family as the primary unit for the formation of personal and social identities. I have not focused on this dimension as I found it difficult to elaborate on it due to my limited access to the private sphere. Thus the focus of this study is the public sphere.

PART II

In part II, I will explore the Bosnian schooling by looking at its main characteristics and how these are unfolded in the everyday life of the students and the teachers. This part focuses mainly on knowledge teaching as part of the education system. The aim is to arrive at an understanding of what knowledge is considered as important to the future citizens. In applying an anthropological approach, the knowledge seen as crucial is analysed in relation to it being a part of the Bosnian cultural context. Equally important it is to analyse the ethnography in relation to the role of contemporary schooling.

Chapter 3: Theorising and Contextualising Bosnian Schooling

First, chapter three presents the theoretical framework that will be applied to arrive at a meaningful analysis of the Bosnian education system. In numerous contributions Pierre Bourdieu presented a highly critical analysis of the French culture and educational system. By applying Bourdieuan concepts the aim is to arrive at a meaningful understanding of the schooling in the unique context.

Second, this chapter seeks to show what is specific with Bosnian schooling by looking at the characteristics of the educational system in relation to the historical context. In relation to this the schooling system is presented by introducing ethnography and descriptions from international reports. Lastly this chapter presents the contemporary schooling practise with reference to the curricula the schools are expected to follow.

Theorising Schooling

As previously stated, the school is considered to be one of the most important and fundamental institutions in a modern society, due to its reach out to the masses of people and due to the time citizens spend as students. Its character is the purpose of educating future citizens and contributors to the society. Teaching in general knowledge and preparation for future life in a work institution are considered to be two of the main goals of the educational system. To meet the needs of the state, there are different educational institutions which are stratified.

Pierre Bourdieu's fieldwork experience is based on stays in Kabylia in Algeria and he describes his theoretical framework by applying the terms on the ethnography from the traditional society. However, more important to this thesis is Bourdieu's critical writing on French schooling and analysis of the relation between education and social class, and moreover the importance of class for success in the academic world. The French education system is known for being centralized and highly stratified in its education of future citizens. Bourdieu argues that even on an early stage, a nation has mechanisms for selection and division of citizens according to the education they go through.

'[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice' (Bourdieu, 1984: 101)

In social sciences, the formula has been the origin to debates and scholarly positioning, though I will apply it as it is “good to think with” to arrive at a meaningful understanding of the topic. First, I will introduce Bourdieu’s concepts of *field*, *habitus*, *cultural capital* and *doxa*, which will assist understanding of schooling in the specific context. In chapter four, five and six, I analyse the ethnographical material in relation to Bourdieu’s concepts. Throughout the chapters, I show how the concepts and the ethnographic material that is presented is relevant for an understanding of schooling.

In his theory of cultural production, Bourdieu compares the society to a game in which the different players possess resources. By an investigation of the resources we can analyse a person’s social position. As Bourdieu found it unfruitful to analyse a society in exclusively economic terms, the resources here are *social*, *economic* and *cultural capitals* which receive varying values depending on within which cultural field they are acting. Also, I will introduce the terms *symbolic capital* and *symbolic violence*.

Theorising the field of education

According to Bourdieu, a society is structured as a set of interlocking but relatively independent spheres, called *fields*. Bourdieu notes that *field* is seen as a structured and thus conceptual space of social positions “*in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or “capital”*” (Bourdieu, 1991: 14). In this context, *fields* can be occupied by institutions or individuals. Thus, education is a *field* that can be described as academic or intellectual, while for instance other fields can be economic or political.

Bourdieu considered that each *field* in the social space is immersed in a field of power, and this can be claimed for education as a field as well.

According to Bourdieu, each field is defined by “*specific issues and interests, which cannot be reduced to the specific issues and interests of other fields*” (Bourdieu 1979:).

Also, power and domination is exercised in each field by deploying the *capital* that is specific to the field. Moreover, a *field* has its own set of rules and ways of exercising domination that are seen as legitimate. Furthermore, the interest of education in modern society can be seen as to spread knowledge to masses of citizens, and to prepare them for future positions in the society, and in other *fields*.

In this context, if a *field* consists of social positions, and if the social positions’ interrelation is determined by the distribution of resources, the resources can be referred to as knowledge seen as relevant in the school arena. Besides, in a school context the social positions are held by the teachers and the students and school knowledge is unequally distributed. Teachers possess more knowledge than the students, and certain students possess more school knowledge than other students. If a *field* has rules, I see these in the field of education to be the rules of the school. As any other rules, the rules of a school have corresponding sanctions. In this sense, domination is exercised according to the rules and sanctions in the field.

Theorising Habitus and Cultural Capital

Reed-Danahay notes that:

“According to Bourdieu, habitus is an internalized, embodied disposition toward the world. It comes into being through inculturation in early childhood, which is not a process of deliberate, formal teaching and learning but, rather, one associated with immersion in a particular sociocultural milieu- the family and household. Through observing and listening, the child internalizes “proper” ways of looking at the world, ways of moving (bodily habits), and ways of acting. Children, thus, acquire the “cultural capital” associated with their habitus. All human children, one assumes from Bourdieu’s writing, undergo this process of inculturation in order to acquire the habitus that later guides their adult life and its outcome. It is through such inculturation that traditional societies reproduce themselves in subsequent generations.” (Reed-Danahay 2005:46)

Thus, Bourdieu describes *habitus* as the learnt, internalised and embodied dispositions a person has acquired through life. The dispositions are acquired through social interaction with other social actors, and in this respect aspects of upbringing are crucial. For instance, familial interaction teaches a child what the correct way of looking at the world is. The bodily or physical aspect refers to how the child is taught by the parents or how it learns by watching how to move its body in a proper way. An example of internalisation is how children learn from their parents, and later in kindergarten and in school how to act in different arenas. Later in life, most children act according to the standards of social norms. As such the *habitus* of a child may vary from family to family, and from society to society. In sum, a child’s dispositions towards the world, the *habitus*, is primarily a product of familial interaction.

Bourdieu notes that the earliest mode of acquisition is the one that marks the habitus the most and that it is the one by which it remains remarked (Bourdieu and Passeron 1994). The latter leads to an assumption that what we learn early in life is crucial to our way of seeing the world, our common-sense view.

Later in life, school and interaction in other fields mark a person’s habitus. In other words, *habitus* is a product of socialisation.

Bourdieu notes that the habitus is “*the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations ... a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks.*” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 18)

In other words, the guiding aspect of the *habitus* is important. Bourdieu stated that the individual *habitus* governs an agent’s/actor’s given trajectory through any particular field. Likewise, a student’s *habitus* governs its trajectory through education. That is to say, Bourdieu argued that our past experiences are relevant in the schooling situation.

As Reed-Danahay states that according to Bourdieu *cultural capital* is acquired as a result of *habitus*, and it can be seen as the *capital* that drives the habitus. *Cultural capital* can be seen as the resources that are at an individual’s disposal and that the one can use to influence the results of exchange in *fields*. Bourdieu describes that ‘*one of the specific properties of cultural capital is that it exists in an embodied state in the form of schemata of perception and action, principles of vision and division, and mental structures*’(1986).

According to my understanding of the concept the distribution of *cultural capital* may be evident in various aspects of the students’ way of speaking and dressing, values, beliefs, as well as action and aspirations. Moreover, Bourdieu’s theory includes the position of *cultural capital* as aligned with social class and reproduction.

For an analysis of education it is essential to differentiate the terms of *primary habitus* and *secondary habitus*.

Primary Habitus, Secondary Habitus, Knowledge and Assessment

On the relevance of students’ *habitus* in educational systems, Reed-Danahay explains Bourdieu’s analysis: “*In societies with formal education and class stratification, such as France, the primary habitus inculcated through the family (which will differ according to the*

social position of the family) then comes into contact with a system which is outside of the family and part of the state apparatus- the school. This institution inculcates a secondary habitus, the “cultivated habitus”, which privileges the cultural capital (which includes world views, linguistic codes, certain types of knowledge, and material objects- such as books) of a particular class, the dominant social class. The school does not act primarily, however, to teach children anything they don’t already know, but to certify the knowledge of the children of the dominant class by giving them high marks, certificates, and diplomas.” (Reed-Danahay 2005:47)

First, it is important to mention that learning, according to Bourdieu is acquired in an “irreversible process” in which the children or students are being passive receivers; they play a passive role.

Secondly, Bourdieu assumes that dominant and dominated classes exist in societies. Due to my restricted access to the private sphere of the students’ lives the aspect of class will not be discussed in detail. As previously mentioned, the familial circumstances are the basis for the inculcation of the *primary habitus*, while the *secondary habitus* is inculcated through schooling. The latter is characterized by being cultivated, as in refined or educated, and it privileges and thus consists of the elements that constitute the *cultural capital* of the dominant class of the society.

In practise, this can be described as for instance the school systems’ value and preference of theoretical knowledge in contrast to practical knowledge. Children that enter school and that are introduced to alien material objects such as books for the first time, will meet more challenges in order to success than children who are used to books from their earlier experiences. The first will have more difficulties than children who are already familiar with books. Assessment in general, as Bourdieu analyses serves to confirm formally the knowledge of the children of the dominant class. This is done by giving high marks to the children that possess the school valued knowledge, which can be analysed in relation to their *primary habitus*. Thus, a child from the dominant class is likely to achieve high marks as some of the

knowledge or the way of thinking is already introduced to the child due to the familial environment of the child. Besides, the school rules might be more familiar to children from dominant classes. In this context, a difference in *cultural capital* can be interpreted as a class difference because the different classes are inclined to different knowledge. Thus, class differences in a school may refer to differences in resources as the students that are members of different social classes do not share the same life histories. Likewise, students that are members of the same class share the ways of looking at the world, ways of moving and acting. The *habitus* of the members of the same social class is shared.

In general there is a difference in knowledge that the classes are inclined to. Bourdieu considers the dominant classes to be inclined to socialisation to formal knowledge, while he considers the dominated classes to be inclined to practical knowledge. Here, formal knowledge is knowledge that has not any practical use and that is learnt because it is seen as a value. Children from dominated classes see no material necessity and do not need to earn a living. In contrast, practical knowledge is knowledge that is seen as necessary to earning a living and that is useful (Bourdieu 1984).

Introducing Reproduction and Doxa

Reed-Danahay describes how Bourdieu and Passeron differentiate between two types of reproduction. The authors, distinguished between *cultural reproduction* and *social reproduction* (2005:46). The first, *cultural reproduction*, which is referred to as reproduction of *cultural arbitrary*, is defined as “*transmission from one generation to the other of the culture inherited from the past*” (Bourdieu 1990:10).

Social reproduction on the other hand refers to the reproduction of relationships between groups or classes and is defined as “*reproduction of the structure of the relations of force between classes*”. (Bourdieu 1990:10)

Moreover, Bourdieu introduces the term *doxa* that can be seen as the unconscious beliefs and taken for granted constructed version of reality in a society. According to Eriksen (:73), *doxa* refers to the aspects of a society or a culture that are unquestioned, and can be seen in relation to the term *opinion*, as in public opinion, where questions are raised and views and beliefs are challenged. One example of the manifestation of this is ethnocentrism. From a Bourdieuan

approach, in every society there is a part of the *cultural reproduction* that is the “misrecognition of the objective truth as a cultural arbitrary” (Reed-Danahay 2005:46).

There is an internalization of what Bourdieu introduced as a *cultural arbitrary* through inculcation. Thus, the latter has no inherent truth value. In this thesis it is understood that the school internalizes unquestioned acceptance of certain beliefs and versions of reality. In addition, Reed-Danahay writes that according to Bourdieu: “..in societies in which there exist dominant and dominated classes, there is misrecognition of the fact that the culture considered “legitimate” is the culture of the dominant sector. This misrecognition contributes to the reproduction of the position of dominance of the dominant class.” (Reed-Danahay 2005:46-47)

In other words, if the school may be seen as representing the knowledge of the dominant class it contributes to reproduction of classes in a society. Throughout education, certain types of knowledge are of significance and more importance. Therefore a *cultural arbitrary* is imposed on children. As a result, this knowledge is more valued and the justification is done by the teachers’ assessment and marking. A failure in reproducing the relevant knowledge that is seen as valid, leads to sanctioning with lower grades.

Equally important to this thesis is that the content in this education is specific to each society and consequently the knowledge taught and learned in a Bosnian context varies from the knowledge in other countries. This aspect will be described in chapter four.

Theorising Symbolic Violence

The dominant class *arbitrary* imposes its knowledge and Bourdieu claims this is an act of *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:4-15). Also, the dominant class has the power to arbitrary impose the knowledge that the children belonging to lower classes will not benefit from, according to Bourdieu.

In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) Bourdieu analyses the French society regarding aesthetic tastes and judgments of value. It is important to mention that Bourdieu evaluated both, individuals' economic capital, which refers to the material wealth of an individual and cultural capital. In the study he asked people belonging to different classes about their aesthetic preferences, and the study includes questions on a variety of themes such as art, clothing, literature, furniture and leisure activities.

In short, Bourdieu links the results on preferences and values to social class position and argues for a view on the relation between the classes as a system of power relations.

According to the study people classify beauty and people value objects according to a system which can be seen in light of socioeconomic aspects. The French bourgeoisie's preference and values are put in contrast to the working class' attitudes towards what is beautiful and what is valued. In Bourdieuan terms, peoples' preferences are called distinctions and Bourdieu argues that these are made in contrast to the lower class' choice of preferences.

In *Distinction* (1984) Bourdieu describes the different class' cultures as characterised by "mincing and posturing, airs and graces", referring to the upper class' culture, and as "blunt, straightforward, unbending, honest, genuine, straight down the line", referring to working class' culture.

Moreover, Bourdieu argues that the dominant class' attitudes towards what is beautiful are seen as superior to the dominated class' aesthetic taste. The dominant class' taste and preferences are most valued. On the individual level, Bourdieu's theory argues that a person's preferences and taste, including interests, are determined by social class

membership/belonging. According to Bourdieu, the way we classify and describe objects and taste is based on preferences we have because of our cultural values that are acquired through upbringing and life. As previously stated, Bourdieu describes this in terms of dispositions that form an individual's habitus. Thus, the dispositions are shared with people that belong to the same social class.

As a result, the social world operates according to the symbolic system we all are a part of. For instance, we all have preferences regarding everything from dress codes to leisure activities. These preferences symbolise the belonging to different social classes. In short, he stated that there is an arbitrariness of classifications and values in a society.

It is equally important to state that though Bourdieu's theoretical framework argues that a student's social class predetermines the student's occupational choice and level of career success, this thesis' intention is not to prove Bourdieu's theory. In order to argue for reproduction the thesis would require a broader approach to the private sphere.

I will argue that Bourdieu's theory is relevant to understand the young people's level of success in the educational system and their way of reasoning about the future.

Introducing Social Capital, Economic Capital and Symbolic Capital

In order to apply Bourdieu's theory of society, it is important to introduce the terms *social* and *economic capital*, as well as the notion of *symbolic capital*.

In short, *economic capital* consists of material wealth as property rights or money.

Social capital refers to the social resources available due to a person's social position. For instance a person's social capital is defined by the actual and potential relations and networks a person has due to family acquaintances, friends and colleagues. The term *symbolic capital* is used to refer to forms of prestige, authority, honour or recognition which are due to economic, social or cultural capital or a mix of these (Bugge 2002:225). Bourdieu states that social and economic capital should be seen in relation to cultural capital. Also, practice shows that converting cultural capital to economic capital is less problematic than vice versa.

Bugge (2002) argues for an understanding of Bourdieu's term *capital* as in line with the use of the term *power*, and especially in the schooling arena it can be fruitful to think of capital as power. By applying both Bourdieuan terms, the students act on a stage and negotiate their progress by drawing upon their cultural capital. The way the negotiation or the interaction between a student and a teacher is done can be seen in relation to cultural capital. Equally important, the teacher is a social actor which results in acknowledgement that the teacher's cultural capital is also crucial to the interaction between the two. Also, the teacher's role and the role of a student are defined by the arena. The school as an institution defines which capital is relevant to the interaction between a student and a teacher.

Schooling in a historical context

In the former Republic of Yugoslavia, the education system provided broad access to pre-school, basic and secondary education, and substantial participation in higher education (osce.org). The main principle of the school ideology was secularity and socialist values. Another characteristic of Yugoslavia was that the productive and ideological goals of the socialist regime did not favour social science. In line with this the scholarly descriptions point to absence of a civic society.

Bringa's ethnographic data on religious and ethnic identity was based on fieldwork in a rural area, and she mentions that some religiously devout parents felt that children were taught "not to believe" at school. On special events where children's Yugoslav communist identity was highlighted, children might have been kept at home (1995:76).

During the Yugoslavia period, there was especially one school ritual that was of great significance to the students, and that later came to be talked about in adult life. The *pioniri*-tradition was introduced through the first or second year of primary education and during the ritual the students became a *pionir*. Wearing dark blue hats with red stars in front and red scarfs on around their necks, the students pledged to the socialist values of the Yugoslav state. Most students were eager to become a *pionir*, and they were looking forward to the ritual that initiated them in the union of the *pioniri*. Later, the citizen kept the photo of themselves posing as a *pionir* as a memory of the day they became a part of the tradition and gained the status of a *pionir*. The ritual may be seen in relation to the Yugoslav citizenship with its main purpose of creating a sense of belonging. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the tradition of introducing the pre-school students to the society of *pioniri* was maintained until the early nineties.

During the three-year war-time period from 1992 to 1995, teaching was continued with the resources that were available and within private places and basements. The civil society in Sarajevo, and in the rest of the country contributed to the schooling in a period of absence of structured state involvement. As a Sarajevan, that went to school during war-time, told me: "*We had lessons in basements or other places where snipers could not reach.. we knew how to get there without being hit.. We didn't have school material.. the books and videos we had*

at home.. we shared.. I read some books over and over.. We didn't have electricity.. when they turned it on (the electricity), we sat for some time and watched parts of a film..”

Education in general is valued and as Sarajevo is the cultural center Sarajevans are regarded as metropolitan and being *cultured*. The latter has a specific Bosnian understanding which I will describe in chapter four. During war-time and in the post-war period Sarajevo's demography was altered, like in the rest of the country, and so was education which I will describe more into detail in chapter four.

Contemporary school arrangement is based on eight years of primary school, and four years of secondary education. In Sarajevo, there are both private and state schools, and there is a range of schools on the high school level where the students are enrolled at the age of 15. The schools on this level are represented by; the three year vocational high schools, grammar schools, high school level religious schools, different international high schools and the four year schools of in-depth studies in various practical academic fields that at the same time offer the students the requirements that are needed in order to be enrolled to college and university studies.

The curriculum is secular and the schedule is settled according to the Subject Curricula. In general in Bosnia and Herzegovina the variety of subjects is the same as in the rest of the region including the same curricula in the subjects such as Mathematics, Biology, Physics and Chemistry. However, there is a group of subjects, called the “National Group of Subjects”, which includes the subjects of Language and Literature, History, Religion and Geography. The latter varies according to the group of the students, as these subjects include teaching in sensitive issues that are ethnically-centred. Separate curricula for the three constituent peoples imply several challenges to the creation of a democratic society.

The education system is characterized as decentralized (see promente 2008). There are examples of segregation represented by “two schools under one roof” where students who belong to different ethnic groups, attend teaching in the same building though according to different curricula. In other areas of the country, minority students follow the majority group's curricula and parents are forced to either bus their children to schools in other areas,

or face assimilation in the local school. Both solutions are problematic and represent intolerance. The schools in Brčko Distrikt have a system that enables students that belong to different ethnic groups to attend teaching in mixed groups. Still, the “National Group of Subjects” is taught partly or totally separated (see oscebih.org).

OSCE (The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) states a concern regarding the “National Group of Subjects”, referring to the presentation of an overwhelming ethnic bias and failure to create a common sense of citizenship. For instance, the three constituent peoples have three distinct different and mutually opposed interpretations of history which promote competing narratives of victimhood. OSCE has supported modernisation of teaching history and the on-going project is titled “History for the Future – Towards Reconciliation through Education”. According to OSCE, the project “seeks to establish common principles and standards for teaching history for the whole country ensuring a common base of knowledge, culture and values for all students.” In particular, there has been cooperation between the international community and Ministries of Education of BiH in developing the “Guidelines for Textbook Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in BiH” (see oscebih.org).

In addition, OSCE initiates curricula reforms which include establishment of curricular standards and modern learning objectives, as well as training in new methodologies based on modern educational approaches. Inclusion-centred teacher training is combined with promotion of diversity and tolerance through reforms in the curricula. There has been an attempt at introducing Common Core Curriculum with reforms regarding the content in the subjects. However, the attempt did not introduce significant changes in the “National Group of Subjects” regarding polemical issues. OSCE has also been the initiator to adopt the “Criteria on School Names, Symbols and Manifestations”, which is highly necessary to offer an inclusive environment. According to the latter, organized events in commemoration of war are prohibited at the primary school level. Still, there are many schools who have not implemented the Criteria set, and continue to decorate schools with religious symbols and schools have names that are associated with the different ethnic groups.

The international community has initiated teaching in the subjects of Democracy and Human Rights and Cultures of Religions. The first is a part of the civic education in the schools, while the latter is obligatory for all students as promotion of tolerance and understanding. The observations from participation in the teaching in the latter two subjects will be described in chapter four and six.

Lockhead and Verspoor (1990:31) stress the distinction between what students are expected to be taught the definition of the scope, the *intended* and official curriculum, and what students actually learn as a result of the material the teachers' use, the "implemented" curriculum. Opposite to one of the focuses of international organisations, in what follows I will not present an interpretation of the material in the school books the students apply in their studies. The intention is not to give a discursive analysis, though I see the benefits of such an approach. Besides, most of the teaching was conducted as lectures given by the teachers. In the vocational school, I was told by the teachers that all of the students could not afford an investment in school books.

Contemporary schooling practise

The schooling in Sarajevo, described in the Curriculum of the Sarajevo Canton, *Nastavni program i plan kantona Sarajevo*, is similar to the educational practice that is described in the documents of the rest of the area. Due to the contemporary debates on the content of schooling that I mentioned in chapter three, the teaching books that are in use have to be approved by the Ministry of Education.

As previously stated, the fieldwork can be divided into two parts. Each of the two schools has its characteristic group of subjects, and in what follows I will present these. Students attending grammar schools have nine to twelve subjects per year, obligatory and optional. Bosnian language and literature, two foreign languages, Latin, History, Geography, Sociology, Psychology, Philosophy, Democracy and Human Rights, Mathematics, Sports and Culture of the Religions are obligatory courses during the four-year-schedule of secondary schooling, though teaching in all subjects is not offered every year. Some of them are taught

only during the first years and in addition to the obligatory subjects, courses in optional subjects are offered. Teaching in the subject of Religion is optional though a lot of the students choose to attend. Students attending the most common grammar schools can choose mainly between in-depth studies in the fields of Language, the Social Sciences, Mathematics and informatics and Natural Sciences, though there are grammar schools that offer other options.

The students that attend the three year courses in vocational high schools follow a program that includes the teaching in Bosnian language and literature, a foreign language, Mathematics, Sports, History, Democracy and Human Rights, Culture of the Religions, Religion (optional), History and the vocational courses that are program specific. In addition, the Vocational school offers job-specific training in the workshops and teaching in technical and other vocational oriented subjects. For instance, a course in one field of informatics was a part of the teaching program. A vocational education teaches the skills that are needed to perform a particular profession. The knowledge taught here is expected to be practical knowledge, though in reality formal and abstract knowledge is taught as well. This is due to the school's aim of educating future citizens that for instance learn a shared formal language.

As previously stated, what I especially found interesting was the content and teaching in the subjects Bosnian language and literature (*Bosanski jezik i književnost*), Cultures of Religions (*Kultura Religija*), Democracy and Human Rights (*Demokratija i Ljudska Prava*) and Philosophy (*Filozofija*). In chapter four, I will use descriptions from a few teaching situations to present an insight in what I experienced as the specific Bosnian schooling context.

Chapter 4:

In this chapter I intend to analyse the education system as an area where the contemporary Bosnian cultural context is visible. I will start this chapter by introducing the teachers and contextualise their role and describe them in relation to the students they teach. The main aim is to point to how schooling as a part of the public sphere can be seen in relation to the debates in society in general. First, I will describe schooling in relation to the teaching of culture, and describe the Bosnian schooling culture as well. Second, I will analyse the teaching in the subjects of Bosnian language, Philosophy, Religion and Cultures of the Religions. Thirdly, I analyse the interaction between the teachers and the students by describing a specific classroom situation, and point to the attitudes conveyed. I argue that the schooling's role is much more than only teaching literacy skills and preparation for future career. Finally, I look at the schooling context and analyse its role in formation of the students' identity.

Introducing the teachers

As previously mentioned the *field* of education consists of social positions, which in this context refer to individuals possessing distinctive resources that can be viewed as unevenly distributed. The institution life is based on two main social positions, the *student status* and the *status* of being a *teacher*. In this context it is worth mentioning Linton's theoretical approach to the concepts of *status* and *role*. According to Linton "A role represents the dynamic aspect of a status. The individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it with relation to other statuses. When he puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role." (Linton 1964:114)

In line with Linton's definition the distinctive Bosnian performances of the *role* of a student and of a teacher are characterized by formal relationships and formal styles of interaction. For instance the Norwegian relationship and interaction between a student and a teacher is less formal. Also, the relationship is characterised by the power which can be seen in relation to the rights of a teacher. A teacher's role performance in the Bosnian context is by far more

characterised by authority and the right to act in a way that can be analysed as symbolising the hierarchical relation between a student and a teacher.

In general the social status of a teacher in social life in Bosnia is more favourable than the one of a Norwegian teacher. The teachers I became familiar with are respected and their reputation was known among the teenagers in the city. Teachers were well-known for their characteristics such as being strict or for their specific utterances in the classroom. The professional title of a teacher that teaches on the high school level is *Profesor* (which refers to a male teacher) or *Profesorica* (referring to a female teacher). The title refers to the academic knowledge that the *Profesor* possesses. I was incredibly impressed by the curriculum that was presented to the students and the knowledge and the skills the teachers showed in the respective fields. Thus, the teachers are in possession of academic and cultural knowledge which is referred to as *cultural capital*.

In the post-war context being an employee does not imply being paid every month, and most people in Sarajevo were unsure whether they would receive their wages the coming month. A teachers' income is approximately 1200 KM (approximately 600 Euros), still the teachers were not complaining. In economic sense, a tutoring profession is not of great benefit, yet the teachers show great dedication and knowledge. Being a teacher does not imply being in possession of vast economic resources. Still, a person that has a job has more *economic capital* than a person that is unemployed.

The teachers showed a variety in the methods they applied; nevertheless most lessons were performed according to conservative pedagogy. Most of the time, a lesson involves strong leadership. Both verbally in terms of communication with the students and by looking at a teacher's body language there is an image of a visible leader. The students are either audience or contributors that participate in the parts where the teaching allows it. Compared to the Norwegian school context, there is a hierarchy in the schooling in Sarajevo. In Norway, the teacher student relation is characterized by the Norwegian value of equality (*likhet*).

The dress code of the teachers is formal compared to the dress code in Norway. The teachers like to dress up, and clothes, shoes and accessories are chosen to fit the public sphere. The female teachers' hair style is noticeable as well as their hair is always styled.

In this study none of the teachers were younger than 25 and the majority was old enough to have a first-hand memory of the everyday life and the society prior to the war in 1992. The teachers that I spent my time with were both females and males. This memory is in contrast to the students who were born during war time. To arrive at a meaningful understanding of the empirical data, this aspect of the relation between the teachers and the students is relevant. In "Nowhere Man" Aleksandar Hemon, writes on memories of the period prior to the war:

"And there were moments. Sarajevo in the eighties was a beautiful place to be young- I know because I was young then. I remember linden trees blooming as if they were never to bloom again, producing a smell I can feel in my nostrils now. The boys were handsome, the girls beautiful, the sports teams successful, the bands good, the streets felt as soft as a Persian carpet, and the Winter Olympics made everyone feel that we were at the center of the world." (Aleksandar Hemon 2002:49)

Similarly to Hemon's description the personal past and the narrative that was presented by the teachers to the students about the time before the war was in general positive. The personal experiences that were brought to light in the classroom were of a good life. During one of my chats with one of the teachers in one of the two schools, I had an interesting conversation about the students and their thoughts and attitudes, and perception about society. I was told that this teacher believed that there was a mental barrier in the minds of the young people, a barrier regarding their knowledge about and interest in the period prior to the war. To the teacher, it seemed like the students did not see causality when it comes to the past happenings and the present situation. Also, the teacher expressed the importance of being a well-informed member of society. The teacher was often surprised how little some students know for instance about the popular culture that was produced during the Yugoslavia-period after WWII. Suffice, the teacher said, was to say that in one group not a single one student had seen the movie called "Walter defends Sarajevo".

| *Valter brani Sarajevo*, which is the Bosnian name of the film, has a cult status and it is a partisan movie. The setting is the end of WWII where a man called Valter is a threat to the Nazis and they plan to send a spy to find Valter and stop him. In one scene, while standing on a hill and looking at the whole of Sarajevo, one Nazi officer asks the other, who Valter is, and the other one answers “This is Valter!” and points to the whole city. Valter was the symbol of the Communist unity and resistance to the Nazi occupation. This scene was as well used in some electoral campaigns in former Yugoslavia. Likewise, in April 1992 the first group of protestors that were the crowds of Sarajevans walking in the streets of the town asking for peace was called the Valter movement (Donia 2006:282). It represented the unity of the city and the pacifistic intentions.

The teachers represent the diverse voices that contribute to the public space, and each individual may have certain preferences that shape the students’ worldview. Also, in the two schools there were pedagogues, teachers with a degree in pedagogy or psychology. Their practice enabled the students to establish less formal relations to adults in the school system. The pedagogues visited the classrooms to discuss different issues related to behaviour and the school environment. For instance, theme of one of the discussions was mobbing and its consequences. Occasionally, they had individual conversations with the students that presented diverse challenges which affected their everyday life.

In the following, there are no references to the two schools as it is not necessary to the understanding of the content. Even more important, avoiding specifying the school, the aim is to keep the teachers’ identity anonymous.

The two school arenas I came to know consisted of the school building and the school yard, where the last one functioned as the meeting point during the long break. The hallway walls were decorated with students’ works during exhibitions and during national holidays. The different subjects had permanent classrooms, and the students changed room according to the schedule. There was a teachers’ room where only the employees of the school had access.

Teaching culturally valued knowledge

Eugen Weber (1976) and Reed-Danahay (1996) viewed the educational system represented by the local school as the place where students learn the knowledge that is seen as important to the nation-building process. In general, the school as an institution teaches citizens about themes that are seen as important by the state in order to live in it as a member of society and as a citizen. Furthermore, the institution teaches the students about their cultural heritage and its ultimate function is to ensure acceptance of cultural values (Bourdieu 1979:43). Bourdieu states that the school is a place where culture is worshiped (Bourdieu 1979:45). In line with the theory on secondary habitus, the school is the place where the students are presented to the culture of the upper class which is the knowledge that is seen as important in the nation building process.

As previously stated, Reed-Danahay (1996) argues for an understanding of schooling as a place where the societal struggles are visible. As has been stated previously, the demography and thus the public sphere in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina is remarkably different from what it was in the pre-war period and there is an on-going struggle in contesting and defining the public discourse, and the content in schooling. As stated in chapter three during the course of the last decade there have been discussions on defining the cultural content of schooling and the result is that the different groups teach distinct teaching programs. Hence, the schooling arena displays also struggles and debates that are crucial to the society in general. In sum in line with the ethnography which Reed-Danahay presents, the Bosnian context there is a debate about what knowledge is seen as of crucial importance to the schooling of future citizens.

In this section I have introduced and described the teachers as a part of the Bosnian context. I have also stressed that schooling as a part of the nation-building process presents important knowledge that is seen as important to the future citizens, and that schooling also can be seen as an arena which has to be analysed in as a part of and in relation to the more broader cultural context.

In what follows I will take a closer look at the contemporary teaching practice in subjects of Philosophy, Bosnian Language, Religion and the Cultures of Religions. By using this empirical data I will argue that the interaction in the schooling context can be analysed to

illustrate the attitudes and cultural capital conveyed. First, I will present the schooling culture in order to point to the tendencies in the classroom arena.

The Bosnian schooling culture

In BiH, the students are marked from the first year of schooling and failure in subjects may lead to additional teaching and exams during the summer vacation. Further failure may lead to attendance in school on the same level till pass is achieved. Therefore, student competency in Bosnian classrooms is being valued as better than not competency, and this has implications for the teacher's relation to the students. Also Bosnian teachers would stress the importance of knowledge and they would sanction or make fun of students that were not well-prepared for the lessons. In, addition, I realised that quite often humour and funny lines are used in order to control the setting and in order to sanction unwanted responses. All of this reflects the Bosnian schooling's focus on knowledge reproduction which implies that less time is spent on discussions and talk that is not relevant to the curricula. As previously mentioned, the latter may be seen in relation to the conservative pedagogical approach. In addition to teachers' focus on knowledge there are student competitions in various fields, and at the end of the last schools year of secondary schooling, there is a nomination of the Student of the Generation (*Učenik generacije*).

In the Bosnian context the parents' ambitions for their children are visible. Compared to Norwegian parents who in public would not admit their expectations on behalf of their children, Bosnian parents take personal pride in their children's education and are more likely to influence their child's choice of education. Several students explained that in the beginning they were unsure about their choice of profession, but their parents had told them what the right profession for them is. Their parents had seen in which field they are "gifted". The term gifted will be analysed in chapter 5.

Regarding the two schools where I did my fieldwork, there were differences regarding expected behaviour and attitudes to schooling. I will describe this in chapter five. The average

grammar school student was interested in doing a good performance in order to impress the teachers and get a good grade. Hence, there was competition and little resistance to the rules and values of the school. In the vocational school the students were met with the same system of assessment that led to marking with grades and documentation of cultural capital. The average vocational school student showed varying competency and attitudes to schooling, though most were not eager to participate in the classroom activity.

In general, the importance of being well-mannered was stressed in both schools. The teachers were expected to be addressed with You, and whenever a student met a teacher the student was expected to greet the teacher. Answering in a polite way by the use of a proper language was also expected. The students would also rise from their chairs when answering the teacher's questions. All of these aspects are a part of being well-mannered and educated, which I will later refer to as *biti kulturan*.

Language and identity

During the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) the official language in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia was called Serbo-Croatian, and the language had several regional dialects, and not any that were ethnic. Today, the language used in Serbia is called Serbian, in Croatia Croatian and in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are three official languages Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian. The difference between the languages spoken in BiH, Croatia and Serbia prior to the war, were minor, linguistically. After the war the national romanticism encouraged an alteration of the language spoken. There has been a reinvention and replacement of words to make the language function as an ethnic boundary and a tool for identification. These processes were led by the philologists in the different groups and the words were derived from both historical and artificial usage. The alteration included a construction of words from the dialects that were more typical for use in a village setting and that in the past would rarely have been used by an educated person (Bringa 1995:xviii). The new words and the pronunciation are rather culturally specific (Dahlman and O' Tuathail 2005:572). Still, the three languages are entirely mutually intelligible, and linguistically dialects of one language. In schools, however, there are struggles regarding language teaching and the students are being taught Bosnian, Croatian or Serbian language.

Another example of the importance of language for ethnic identification is that prior to 1992, both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet were official and taught at school. Today, the Cyrillic alphabet is used by Serbs in *Republika Srpska*, and exclusively by the authorities, while the Latin alphabet is commonly associated with Croats and Bosniaks (Dahlman and O' Tuathail 2005:574).

Equally important the claim that there should be three languages in school is argued as a constitutional right. This is due to the Dayton Agreement which confirms the existence of three languages, and hence these are constitutionally acknowledged.

A student, who was born in 1992 and who has been taught the narrative of three constituent peoples, explained the importance of language for the identity of a people. *"People in the BiH learn three languages, we have to agree on one or three and respect others' languages. We can't say that everyone should speak Bosnian because other peoples (narodi) have their language. They have to keep their language because if they do not have their language they are not a people (narod), it is about national identity."*

At first the contemporary language debate did not engage the student, who seemed rather tired of having to talk about it. The student expresses a need for a decision making on one or three of the official languages, though he stressed the naturalness of respecting other languages. By referring to the other peoples' languages, he recognised that there are three languages, and consequently that they are not the same. The student assumed that the need for three languages is essential for the recognition of the existence of three people.

Teaching the standardised language

As previously stated, literacy is spread and language acquisition is achieved through schooling. Acquisition of formal language is seen as important for a student and citizen. More specific a formal, polite and grammatically correct way of speaking is seen as crucial to the teaching of the teachers. Bourdieu states that: "This dominant and legitimate language, this victorious language, is what linguists commonly take for granted" and that it has been "pre-constructed by a set of social-historical conditions endowing it with the status of the sole legitimate or "official" language of a particular community." (Bourdieu 1991:5) Bourdieu argues for the relevance of analysing linguistic exchange in relation to the cultural background and social position of a person. More precisely he argues that linguistic

interaction bears ‘the traces of the social structure that it [cultural capital] both expresses and helps to reproduce’ (Bourdieu 1991: 2). It is important to mention here that the students that attended the vocational school did not master subjects where language skills are important. Also, in general good reading and writing skills are necessary in subjects where the syllabus is presented in a theoretical way.

In Sarajevo, the field of language and literature was focused on Bosnian language, including the grammatical aspects of language, as well as the literature written by national and regional writers as well as world literature. Hence, there is a focus on vast knowledge in the field of literature. Among other subfields, morphology, syntax and phonology were thoroughly scrutinised during lessons in grammar.

Especially, a grammatically correct and official use of language was important, regarding both written and oral examinations. A proper and educated way of speaking was favoured in the two schools in Sarajevo, like in other areas of the public space. In the Bosnian public arena there is a preference of a public way of speaking and presenting oneself, that includes both a preference of vocabulary and showing manners. The most noticeable is the use of *You* instead of *you*, which I have mentioned previously.

In particular, there is a stigmatisation of dialects that are associated with the rural and less cultured in the sophisticated sense. On one occasion there was a teacher, or *Profesor*, who told a student that he talks and behaves like he is on a mountain, referring the student’s unmannered way of speaking which is associated with people that live in rural areas. Hence, language teaching has aspects of nation-building where the students are taught how to speak and write in a grammatically correct and proper way. Also, the teachers convey their attitudes towards the students and other people that do not talk or behave the way they are expected to do in the public sphere.

The Philosophical Knowledge

This course includes teaching in the scholarly work of a broad range of philosophers. Both personal biography and contributions and influence on philosophy as science are considered to be of importance.

The cultural context of philosophy as a subject in schooling is visible as one enters the classroom. The walls of the philosophy class-room are decorated with facts, and images of some of the thinkers that are considered as significant to the field. The students are taught in the ideas of (recited by a student) Mevlana-Rumi, Sartre, Comte, Hesse, Jung, Nietzsche, Hegel, Ibn Rushd, Machiavelli, Weber, Ibn Sina/Avicenna, Kant, Fromm, Habermas, Huntington, Foucault and al- Ghazali among others. The teaching includes the use of both recitation as well as comparative papers where students are asked to point to connections between different concepts in philosophical thought. Questions on existence, knowledge, mind and values were raised. This part of the curriculum fosters culturally valued knowledge, and the list of thinkers mentioned above includes both Western and Eastern philosophers. This range of scholars is interesting as the students are taught to have an interest in the reasoning of thinkers influenced by Christianity, Islam and in the reasoning of more secular thinkers as well.

In modern European educational institutions, knowledge of philosophical terms is considered as general knowledge a well-educated person is expected to possess. In relation to this it is important to stress that Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) documented that a significant number of the students in the French university system experience failure due to the abstract language of the ideas. Thus, Philosophy lessons and success can be seen in relation to the cultural capital of the students.

A broad approach to literature and philosophy, with a focus on both Western and Eastern writers and thinkers, has several implications for the cultural belonging and nation-building in the country. The Western heritage was analysed in detail while the Eastern thinkers were mentioned and their reasoning were described. The extensive approach to knowledge traditions might be interpreted as to orientate the students towards both the West and the East. This practise can be analysed in relation to other European traditions that have been accused of an approach based on euro-centrism and Western cultural domination. In sum, the curricula

in the subject can be interpreted as teaching in the cultural knowledge important to the education of the students in Sarajevo.

In other words, an element of the students' cultural capital is the knowledge in the thinking of both Eastern and Western philosophers. As Bosnians consider themselves as Europeans with Islam as their religion, teaching in the European philosophical tradition is supplemented with Eastern philosophy. This teaching approach may have further implications to the specific Bosnian way of thinking about the world. Furthermore, the students' worldview may be interpreted in relation to the curricula, as on several occasions I did notice that the students were in possession of knowledge that I had not been presented to during my schooling in the Norwegian educational system. In discussions with adults that I became familiar with and that came to be my friends, I was told about the importance of knowing that "*there have existed civilizations and great thinkers in other parts of the world as well*". In brief, awareness of the broad philosophical tradition is an element of the Bosnian culture which is gained through schooling.

Revitalization of Religious Language in the Public Sphere

In this part I will contextualise the debate on the subject Religion and analyse it in relation to the secular sphere in which it takes place. As previously stated during Yugoslavia the public sphere was characterised by the characteristics of a secular state and according to the rules of a secular doctrine (see Asad 2003 for a discussion on secularism, nation-state and religion). The use of secular language was considered as the politically correct language, and the use of a language that was not secular was sanctioned by the authorities. The public sphere was kept apart from the private sphere and there was an order regarding which aspects of the social life that belonged to the two spheres. Therefore religious language and the teaching of religion belonged to the private sphere. Religion was transmitted through the family and attendance in the religious institutions' teaching for children. Regarding Islam, which is the religion of the students that were my informants, there were so-called *mektebs* that are attached to the mosques where children attend during weekends and *medresa* which are Islamic secondary schools. In addition there is the Faculty of Islamic Sciences where higher education is offered.

After the break-up of Yugoslavia religion has been regarded as a subject to be taught in schools and thus as a part of the public sphere. In the contemporary school setting in BiH student attend religious classes of their own religious group. During the data collection the lessons in the optional course Religion, and in this case Islam, included teaching in religious terminology and discussions on behavioural and ethical codes. In what follows I will exemplify the teaching in religion and the use of religious language by describing an event that took place during a lesson. The course was taught by a female Islamic instructor, a *bula* that was educated at one of the *medrese*. Thus, this teacher had formal Islamic education and she was wearing a headscarf.

As the teacher of this course, a woman in her late twenties, enters the classroom, the students greet her by saying “Salaam”. This is another Arabic word frequently used in a Bosnian Muslim context and it means “peace”. In the pre-war Bosnian and Herzegovinian context it would be quite uncommon to use “Salaam” in the public sphere. It was used in private settings, but not in the public spaces of a city. As previously stated, this was due to the Communist politics of Yugoslavia and the strict distinction between the private and the public sphere, and also a ban on religious symbols in the school system. Thus, the use of a religious language in public spaces and in this case in an educational institution is a change. In retrospect there are voices who view the position of the use of religious language during Yugoslavia as a relation of suppression towards people’s identity.

The teacher answered *Alejkum Selam* and smiled. She informed the students on the theme of today’s lesson and asked the students if they had been frightened by last night’s earthquake. The previous night, Sarajevo had experienced an earthquake measuring 3.8 on the Richter scale. The teacher described her experience of the earthquake and gave the impression of being quite frightened during this incidence. She went on telling the students that it had made her think of an earthquake that is mentioned in the Quran. In a religious way she told the students about the morals of the story in the Quran, and she said that all things happen for a reason. She reminded the students to bear in mind that one never knows when life will come to an end and that their everyday life will have consequences. In a thoughtful and reflective way the teacher concluded that “*in contemporary times religion is the only rescue*”. The students were instructed on the importance of being on the righteous path and of behaving according to the ethic and behavioural codes of Islam.

In relation to the revival of a religious language in the public space in BiH, it is fruitful to describe Asad's thoughts on modernity and secularism. According to Asad (2003) "the concept of the secular is a part of the doctrine called secularism", and the latter "builds on a particular conception of the world ("natural and social") and of the problems generated by that world" (2003:191-2). Furthermore, Asad implies that modern nation-states are characterised by elements that can be analysed in relation to the characteristics of myths. For instance certain symbols can be analysed as sacred in nation-states. More, Asad argues that the secularist thinking on behaviour, knowledge and sensibilities can be analysed as similar "to what the secularists *name* "religion"" (Asad 2003:201). Also, Asad argues that nationalism relies on the concept of secularism to make sense. This view can be compared to Anderson's theory on imagined communities. The social researcher Abazovic (2008) stresses that though modernity was expected to contribute to an increase in the importance of religion in social life, the opposite process is a fact. Abazovic (2008:4) argues that "*secularization.. may and should be understood as representing a socio-political consequence of the specific religious history of the area in question..*".

The use of religious language in the public space in BiH has been described as controversial and in what follows I will exemplify how thoughts on this issue are expressed. Above presented is the religious interpretation of the earthquake. In relation to the event presented to the students they were encouraged to think about the causality of events. As previously stated, the post-war curriculum allows both secular and religious language. The subject Religion is still under debate as there are different voices arguing that the subject should not be taught at the state schools. There has been a debate on the marking in the subject and the enrolment to further studies. Different voices in the public sphere have discussed whether the mark achieved in the subject Religion should be calculated in the overall grade. During May 2011 the Minister of Education in the Sarajevo Canton, Emir Suljagić, ordered the remove of marks from the overall grade average and argued with the principle of equality (Radio Slobodna Evropa). According to the Minister the average grade in the subject is high in the subject and therefore students that attend the subject have an advantage compared to children who do choose not to attend. The head of Bosnia's Islamic Community, Grand Mufti Mustafa Cerić, commented on this decision as oppression and discrimination and called for riots, which he

called “Sarajevo Summer” inspired by the recent Arab revolutions that are called “the Arab Spring”. NGOs have accused the Mufti of hate speech and claim that the religious community’s interference in state institutions is unacceptable (bh-news.com 01.06.2011). The High Representative Valentin Inzko accused the Mufti for using a language “contrary to human dignity”. The decision made by the Minister of Education was altered by the cantonal government (balkaninsight.com 25.05.2011), upon which the Minister reacted by resigning. The story did not end there because the Prime Minister of Canton Sarajevo refused to accept the resignation and the final decision on the matter is expected to be taken before autumn 2011.

During my stay, most students participated in the teaching of the subject, and one student that was especially dissatisfied with the marking stated: *“I have had it since the fourth grade, though I am dissatisfied with the marking as I believe that I have deserved a better mark”*. The student was considered to be a practising Muslim with skills in reciting religious texts, but apparently, the marking was based on neither the practice of Islam or agreeing with the teaching nor memorizing passages from the Quran. Rather, it seemed that the focus was on an intellectualized approach to the doctrine based on understanding the philosophy behind the religion. Though the fact that religion is offered as a subject throughout the course of schooling, it does not necessarily imply that this will contribute to an increase in personal religiousness or the spiritualization of personal life (Abazovic 2008). Abazovic calls for more empirical research on the issue. Also, it would be interesting to analyse in specific the impact of the de-privatization of religion on the younger generation.

The Culture of Religions: a short insight

The subject Culture of Religions is designed as teaching about Christianity, Islam and Judaism, the major religions practised in the country. The intention of the course is to serve “*as a confidence-building measure which seeks to advance interreligious tolerance and reduce potential misunderstanding that a lack of knowledge of faiths and cultures other than one’s own may create*”(OSCE 2007).

In the subject called the Culture of Religions the teachers teach the students in various themes that are important for society and the themes are presented from the aspects of the different religions. The different religions' traditions are presented and the teacher pointed to the development of the religions, as well as to the populations that practise the respective religions.

For instance, one of the themes that were on the weekly plan was the religions and ecology. The students were told that ecology is a theme in all religions' philosophy and the teacher presented to the religions' approach to the issue of ecology. For example, the students were told that in Islam the man is not lord of nature, and consequently man has to respect and take care of all life in nature, including plants and animals. In addition, the speech included the theme of environmental issues as a product of human activities. In this case, the content in the teacher's message/speech may be interpreted as contributing to inform the students of the religious arguments for a focus on sustainability that in consequence is rooted in the religions' respect for nature.

To illustrate the teaching in respect for pluralism of thoughts on societal issues in general, I will give a brief description of a short talk between a teacher and a student. During one of the lessons in the Culture of Religions, a student told the rest of the group about a Hindu tradition in a manner that was descriptive, and seemed a bit odd due to the exotic manner it was told in. As a response to this, the teacher laughed and expressed that he must have missed an important aspect of the ritual and explained in detail what the ritual represents and how it is understood by the Hindus. I got the impression that this was supposed to serve as a rebuke, encouraging the student to read more and "*try not to tell such stupidities*".

This episode was one of several where the students learnt how to understand other groups' traditions and comprehend them by the other groups' rationality. This episode can be understood to Evans Pritchard's famous study on Azande and the relativistic argument that each society should be understood by the logic of its own rationality (see Evans Pritchard 1976). Through a focus on cultural relativism or in this case the relativism of the cultures that practise the different religions the aim is to foster respect for the pluralism and multiculturalism in BiH.

Contextualising intergenerational interaction; voices and struggles

I have earlier indicated that the school is the place where we learn culture and thus a place where the culture of the society is presented. Likewise, I have presented Reed-Danahay's analysis of schooling's role in displaying the struggles and interplay of the society when negotiating identity. In the following, I will describe and contextualise some of the contemporary debates in society. I intend to illustrate this by using an example that I will argue might be interpreted as negotiation of Muslim Bosnian identity. In addition, the attitudes of the society related to this theme are made reference to in a classroom setting.

A student was asked by the teacher to repeat what the group had learnt during the previous lesson, and the person raised himself and stood straight in front of his desk. He smiled and seemed nervous. He uttered some sentences and said that he had not been reading for today's lesson. The student asked the teacher if he could answer any other day and promised that he would read before next lesson. He had not had time to read for today's lesson. The teacher looked at the student, smiled and said: "Insha'Allah, you'll read till next time.. You as a young Muslim should know this.." The teacher stressed the word "Muslim". The rest of the group, as well as the student whom the teacher was addressing, laughed. After this, the teacher repeated what he had said during the previous lesson, on one part in the development of Islamic philosophy. The teacher had previously on several occasions, in a classroom setting, been talking in a critical way about those who spend all their time on prayer and obeying Islamic rules and who at same time judge others because of their lack of knowledge about what it means to be a good Muslim in a general sense. The stress on "Muslim" when referring to the young student, can be interpreted as a critique of one group of the contemporary Bosnian society which is becoming increasingly larger, and which is more practising than the rest of the community (see Kokvik 2009). "Insha'Allah", an Arabic term, is widely used in the Bosnian language and it literally means "If it is God's will". In a Bosnian context, this expression can refer to, as far as I know, two meanings. It is used to express hope for an event that one expects or hopes to happen in the future, and in such a way one shows the believe in the omnipotence of God. In other contexts, it can be said in such a manner to denote the fact that one does not believe that an event is likely to occur. The latter use of the word is used in a funny context, and I think that the teacher chose the word to evoke laughter and at the same time make a statement and contest the students' attitudes

about knowledge and education. On several occasions the teachers were preaching about the importance of knowledge in order to succeed in adult life, especially in a society facing diverse challenges.

This way of reasoning about success in life was conveyed to me during informal conversations between the teachers' and me. The teacher that is mentioned above, is commonly referred to as a woman of great knowledge. She had previously during my conversation with her said that in the Quran the sentence "Read in the name of thy Lord.." stresses the importance of education and literacy, and this means that ignorance and illiteracy should not be valued in a society. The younger generations do probably have more knowledge about Islam as a philosophy and life style than the generation of their parents. The students' parents were not taught in the themes of Islamic philosophy, religion or Islam as a life style. As previously stated, during Yugoslavia religious thoughts were considered to belong to the private sphere and forbidden in the public spaces of secular society. Furthermore, I observed that the teacher on several occasions has also accused the younger generations and the Bosnian society in general, of being too passive and of ignoring negative aspects in the development of the society. One critique came during the early months of the year, during the still early period of the economic recession. The prices on goods in shops all over the country were rising and the media reported on this with accurate numbers. The number of unemployed people was rising, and still there were no people in the streets to protest and urge for politicians to intervene. The phenomena of protest was quite absent in the streets of the capital, during my fieldwork. The teacher told his students of the student movements during his time as a student. She said that when she was young, during Tito's Yugoslavia, her generation worked hard and fought for a better society. "Nowadays, most people do not care about others as long as they have everything they need." Such exaggerations might have been made in order to evoke the students to participate in the civic society in order to bring forth changes.

The examples above illustrate how the teachers, as professionals and adults, in their interaction with the students refer to the specific debate on the public discourse as well as contested attitudes, which are highly related to the identity of both the students and the

teacher. Hence, it is fruitful to analyse the teachers' role in schooling as a contribution to the attitude formation of the students. In this example the teacher is a woman that belongs to the older generation and that has experienced the Yugoslavia period, the war and the post-war period. The teacher uttered a preference for a focus on knowledge and at the same time showed a dislike of the changes in society and the status quo. On several occasions the teacher showed nostalgic thoughts about the time prior to the war. According to her the period prior to 1992 was better than the present political and social situation. The new tendencies in the society such as people who are becoming more religious and or focused on ethnic identity were described in a negative way.

Cultural capital and the cultural value of “Biti Kulturalan”

Above I have described the teaching practise by looking at the empirical cases in the subjects of Philosophy, Language, Religion and the Cultures of the Religions. It is fruitful to analyse the ethnography by applying Bourdieuan theory. In the Bosnian society the saying *biti kulturalan* which is a term that can be understood as being cultivated and sophisticated. The term is frequently used and it is associated with being well-mannered and well-educated. The term can be seen in relation to the teaching and interaction in school. The lessons in the different subjects involve much more than literacy and preparation for future career. The importance of specific knowledge plays a large role in schooling, and this knowledge is based on the Bosnian culture.

In all subjects that are common for the two schools there is an intellectualised approach to learning and interaction. Language acquisition is about embodying a proper way of speaking and acting while speaking, such as being well-articulated and applying specific words that are seen as proper to in the teaching situation. In the subject Philosophy the philosophical questions and the knowledge discussed is seen as crucial to citizens' identity. In the subject Religion, which is in this case Islamic teaching, the students are forming knowledge which is seen as important to their religious identity. In the subject Cultures of Religions the students

are forming dispositions to acknowledge that the three¹⁴ major religions have similar approaches to contemporary themes, and the main object is to inform the habitus on respect for other religions. In addition to informing the habitus on curricular knowledge, the schooling contributes in formation of attitudes on themes that are not described in the schooling documents. The teachers' present their view in society and can thus be seen as voices that play a role in the formation of students' identity.

In this chapter I have shown how the curricula based knowledge is taught in the classroom. In line with Bourdieu this equals to argue that the knowledge presented leads to implications regarding cultural capital. This capital is based on informing the habitus of being well-mannered and of possessing knowledge which is seen as valuable in the Bosnian classroom context and the public sphere in general. Also in line with Bourdieuan theory the specific way of embodying knowledge by *biti kulturalan* can be analysed as easier to achieve for the more privileged students than others. This type of knowledge characterises the privileged class in a society. In sum, it is reasonable to argue that the term *biti kulturalan* should be seen as referring to the ideal knowledge a person needs to possess in order to succeeding in the Bosnian context. In the specific schooling context the relation between the students and the teachers is characterised by the teachers' role performance of acting according to the ideal. The teachers keep negotiating the prevailing view on culturally valued knowledge as crucial to the formation of the habitus of the students.

¹⁴ Three or four religions as Christianity in BiH is mainly represented by the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox churches.

Part III

Chapter 5: Distribution of cultural, social and symbolic capital

In part II, I explored aspects of the implemented curriculum and discussed the role of the teachers in the schooling system by references to the contemporary Bosnian cultural context.

In this chapter presents the observations from the two schools where the fieldwork took place. It is fruitful to analyse the two schools and the students by applying Bourdieu's theories on schooling. The first and most obvious difference is the fact that there are two types of schools, the schools educate the students to two different trajectories. In the first part of this chapter, I will present the ethnography from the grammar school. In the second part, I present the ethnographical descriptions from the vocational school. In order to arrive at a comparative understanding of the stratified schooling system I will throughout the chapter point to the differences between experiences of interaction and every-day aspects in the two schools. I also apply the theory presented in chapter three to analyse the empirical descriptions. In other words, I apply the terms *habitus* and *capital* to compare and analyse the two schools.

In this chapter I consider the belonging to social classes as related to access to economic, cultural or social resources. During the fieldwork I witnessed relations of power and due to this I find it fruitful to explore the distribution of *capital* among the students that belong to the same ethno-religious community. The post-war context aspects lead to specific implications regarding the distribution of these. The economic resources are unequally distributed and it is important to stress that due to the political and economic situation of the country (see chapter six) the wages are low even for the people who are lucky to have a job. The latter indicator of the economic situation implies mobility challenges for most people.

The Grammar School: Elite Everyday Life

As previously mentioned, the grammar school was situated in an area of the town that is considered to be quite central. It is one of the six secondary education schools of its characteristics in the city and thus admission to the school is restricted to take in the students that meet the requirements. Thus, the grammar school is to be analysed as a field where symbolic capital is situated due to the enrolment competition and the prestige of attending this trajectory of education. Also, the school is to be seen as the alma mater of the chosen ones who were admitted, in contrast to the ones who were excluded or in Bourdieuan terms *eliminated* (Bourdieu 1979:2).

Alma mater: Intellectualized interaction in distribution of cultural, social and symbolic capital

Upon admission the students are introduced to the rules of the school so that they become familiar with the system of sanctions and rewards, which manifests itself in grades. Marking is done with numbers from one to five, where one is the lowest mark and five marks top performance or knowledge reproduction. In relation to the marking it is important to refer to the symbolic capital the teachers possess. As previously mentioned the teachers' status in the institution is linked to possession of cultural capital. The teachers hold lectures with intensity and show great knowledge in the respective fields. Also, as previously stated there are expectations of a hierarchy to their role performance. A teacher is expected to be respected and to act in a manner as to show leadership skills. The latter characteristics can be analysed as symbolic power.

Most of the time spent in school was structured around sessions of lectures, repetition and oral or written assessment. During a school year, the students were taught in a number of demanding courses. The school day was expected to be characterized by serious learning, self-control, being well-mannered and obedience. Thus, the latter characteristics are expected from a students' role performance. In sum, there is expectation of intellectualised interaction between the teachers and the students.

The lessons are predictable and highly structured, exceptions to expected performance occur more seldom. Also, due to the intensity of teaching it is easier for the teachers to be in control of the interaction. The students rise from their chairs and stand upright and present or reproduce knowledge. When answering to the teachers' questions the students show that they are in possession of the skills required and expected from a student in grammar school. This is manifested in the way the students stand upright, talk loud and in a well-articulate way. Also, most of the students in the grammar school apply abstract words when reproducing knowledge, and there is a repertoire of words that are significantly different from the words the students in vocational school apply. Especially words that tie sentences together are frequently used.

Cultural capital and the habitus: experiences of school life

“In BiH in general, you live the way you want to live and it'll be the way you want it. We are probably lucky, that our parents raised us that we know the real/right values in life, that school matters, but we are few of this opinion. There are more young people who have not had the opportunity, first and foremost to get this education at home that would help them further in life and also with the direction in schooling. So we all build our lives. We all have to make order and find our place in society and in the society in general there should be some order.” (Elma, female student, grammar school)

As described in chapter three, Bourdieu stated that the primary habitus is of crucial relevance to the way of seeing the world, which includes the society and other humans. The statement above was uttered by a girl attending grammar school. The girl is approximately seventeen years old and her background is characterised by an upbringing where formal education is valued. Both of Elma's parents were employed as engineers, and according to the student the family lived a normal life in economic terms. As she said, that is the only life she knows of. As quoted, Elma stressed that she had been brought up to know the right values in life, which includes valuing education and the ambitions of succeeding in education and later in working life. According to Elma lack of such preferences is seen as negative and wrong.

As said in chapter three, Bourdieu stated that the individual *habitus* governs an agent's given trajectory through any particular field and Elma is an example of this. Her parents raised her to success-oriented ambitions and thus she has internalised one way of looking at the world as better than any other way.

In general the students in grammar school described a success-oriented mind-set. Their aspirations regarding education and future career success were clear and there was no other option than applying for higher education. In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu describes how the dominant class creates the "*illusion of universality*" of its own formal preference due to the power to judge and create a standard. In other words, Elma's utterance can be analysed in accordance with this illusion of universality. A Bourdieuan interpretation would recognise that the student in the latter statement expresses that the right and only standard is the one uttered, and that is to be applied on everyone else (1984:483). In other words, everyone should have the same preference which in this case is referred to the value of schooling. As previously stressed Elma legitimatises her judgement as the only right. Similar to Bourdieu, Gullestad writes that certain ways of living are seen as more prestigious and the norm that other ways of living are evaluated according to (Gullestad 1989:112-113). Thus, people evaluate other people according to their cultural capital and difference in the latter.

The following statement from a female student illustrates how she feels when she is at school: "*Since I entered this school I am behaving in a more mannered way, I see things which I did not notice before. I like being here.*" (Maja, female student, grammar school)

From this excerpt, it may seem like Maja has experienced an alteration of the *habitus*. Though, the reference is to the symbolic set of knowledge and techniques an individual has to assimilate in order to enter the elite (Bourdieu 1979:22).

In *The Inheritors* (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979) the difference between feeling *at home* and feeling *out of place* is seen in relation to cultural capital. The latter statement can be compared to Bourdieu's findings which showed that cultural capital is relevant to the different experience of school (1979). According to the Bourdieu's findings a student is more likely to have a positive experience of school the more cultural capital he or she has. Similarly to

Elma's experience Maja likes being in school. Elma's experience can be compared to being at home, a place where she experiences fit. The discipline and the intellectual environment were seen as positive aspects of the education the students go through. Both girls like the rules and the polite and controlled way of relating to other students and the teachers. Likewise, the girls take part in the interaction in the classroom in the way they are expected to and they are enjoying themselves. As previously mentioned according to Bourdieu, members of the dominant classes are inclined to formal knowledge and thus the student here expresses this by seeing a value in knowledge for its own sake. According to Aristotle's theory of value this is called an intrinsic value, in contrast to extrinsic value. The class position determines the fact that the student above prefers the knowledge learnt in school. In a Bourdieuan thinking, this is due to the habitus and the shaping of the dispositions which comes into being in the familial environment as well.

In general the students attending the grammar school expressed that they had been raised, by their parents, to see education as an investment, and a good career was seen as a possibility in the future. The latter way of imagining future was seen as the only right as knowledge was acknowledged as a way to succeeding in life. Hence, this worldview was not questioned and it was applied when judging other people's success.

Language Learning in the Grammar School

Bourdieu notes that the *“essential part of a cultural heritage is passed on more discretely and more indirectly..”* (1979:20) and that *“classical secondary schooling, an education ad asum delphini, conveys second-degree significations, taking for granted a whole treasury of first-degree experiences- books found in the library, “choices” entertainments chosen by others, holidays organized as cultural pilgrimages..”*(1979:22)

Cultural heritage here is the knowledge transmitted through family life or through schooling. It is important to state that there were differences between the two schools regarding the cultural heritage the students and their parents regarded as important. There were certain types of knowledge that were regarded as important by the grammar school students and that were seen as pointless by the vocational school students.

First, it is important to mention that in grammar school learning foreign languages was seen as a necessity for future life. English is obligatory while other foreign languages vary from school to school. In the grammar schools in Sarajevo students are offered Italian, Spanish, German or French, and in at least one school Arabic. In addition, there were students who attended private lessons where they were taught a foreign language because these students and their parents regarded this knowledge as important. In sum, the example that the students in the grammar school valued learning languages can be applied to class belonging. Their familial relations had fostered recognition of language learning as important. Similarly regarding other grammar school courses the students did not question their importance or value of learning. By being introduced to knowledge through family life, the students are better prepared for school life.

Second, during the semi-structured interviews I was informed that there was a significant percentage of students in grammar school who had travelled to other countries and who loved travelling. These students had travelled through school organised trips. Trips with their families were also common. Some students had been on trips to both neighbouring countries and other European countries. Also, in future life the students are going to travel and be a part of the international world, they informed me. This implies that travelling is regarded as important and equally during the travels the students are given the chance to being introduced to other forms of knowledge, or cultural capital. While travelling the students learn about other societies and other people. At the same time they represent their nation. Equally important, language learning and the travels offer social capital that will be of significant value in future life.

In sum, through language learning and the trips the students will gain a wider view of the world and thus internalise a specific way of looking at the world. In addition the students become parts of networks that they may benefit from later in life.

Cultural Heritage: Important Events

Reed-Danahay writes that: *“Bourdieu and Passeron argued that part of the cultural reproduction (in any society) is the misrecognition of the “objective truth of that culture as a cultural arbitrary..” (Reed-Danahay 2005:46)*

The quotation above can be transferred to the school setting where the students learn about their nation and thus acquire knowledge that is culturally arbitrary. Thus this knowledge about the cultural heritage, just like the knowledge presented previously, is taken for granted and it is unquestioned.

In line with this, Farrell argues that: *“Bourdieu’s theory of habitus allows us to see people’s attachment to nation as learned and habituated; being open to modification and reconstruction through reflexive agency and educational practices. (Pollmann, 2009) Habitus should be seen as the product of social conditionings, it can be endlessly transformed. (Bourdieu, 1990a) For generations the school has been seen as the site of these social conditionings.” (Farrell)*

The quote above is used in an essay on the importance of the habitus of a society in the formation of a European identity. The essay analyses the different capitals’ significance for a European identity. Thus, the school is the field where national and local identity is formed as the dispositions of the habitus. The students learn about their nation and cultural heritage during the lessons of History, and also during national holidays, memorial days, exhibitions and schools trips to important places. In what follows I will describe the presentation of knowledge during these days.

Historically, holidays in Sarajevo were either scheduled by the government or by the citizen groups. Donia (2006) notes that at the turn of the nineteenth century Sarajevans could celebrate and honour a diversity of holidays. In schools students are introduced to national holidays and taught about the importance of these.

Today in the Federacija there are national holidays and memorial days that contribute to maintenance of both Sarajevan and Bosnian belonging. 25th of November is Day of the

Republic, *Dan državnosti*, and it is an official holiday that dates back to 1943 and it is marked as a memorial day when the republic gained its status in the union of the constituent republics of Yugoslavia. This day marks the historical continuity of the state of BiH and is not celebrated in the Republika Srpska. 1st and 2nd of January are New Year's Days, and these are official holidays. 1st of March is Independence Day, *Dan nezavisnosti*, and it is an official holiday that marks the country's independence in 1992. The referendum on independency from Yugoslavia was held in 1992 and this day is only marked in the Federation, while in Republika Srpska the day is not a holiday. Equally important, during holidays and days of commemoration the leaders of political parties and representatives of other organisations held speeches in the public sphere. Especially, *Independence Day* is marked with cultural shows in elementary schools and on various places of the city.

1st (2nd as well) of May is Labour Day and it is an official holiday, that can be traced back to the communist era. Also, April the 5th is mentioned in the school setting as April the 6th. April the 5th is the day that marks the beginning of the attacks on Sarajevo in 1992. April the 6th is Liberation day, *Dan Oslobođenja*, which marks the day of 1945 when the town was liberated from the fascist oppression. Also, the Day of Sarajevo, *Dan Sarajeva*, is May the 6th it is an important day for many Sarajevans. The Day of the Victory over Fascism, *Dan pobjede nad fašizmom* which is another World War memorial date to mark the victory over the fascist rule. May the 9th is another memorial day and the students were informed why the day is important for all citizens of the country. Originally this day marked the liberation from Nazi-Germany in 1945. Today, the latter is a memorial day for both the Second World War and the period when Sarajevo was under siege. Other significant days are religious holidays when the students do not attend school.

In general the knowledge the students are presented to during the important days, including narratives about and the practice of commemorating crucial and historically significant events consists of creating an interpretation of symbols as well. During my fieldwork in the school setting there were various memorial days that were supposed to remind of the collective memory of the past. Some were official holidays, others were days of commemoration that were mentioned by the teachers. On each of these days, the students are told about the

significance of the events that happened on this day, and the meaning of the event is conveyed. Such commemoration or memorial of important dates can be seen as nation-building rituals that create an image of the heritage of the nation. As students in the school context the students are introduced and reminded of the important aspect of their citizenship.

An example from my fieldwork can illustrate the importance of certain days. During one of the memorial days, there was a wall presentation of Sarajevo during war time and photos and facts about Sarajevo during the siege were displayed. The focus of the wall presentation was on the endurance and sacrifice of the civilians that were victims of the aggression. The presentations informed that the siege lasted 1425 days, the landscape was altered and lives were taken. According to Sarajevans the siege is interpreted as an attack and aggression on the multiculturalism that Sarajevo represents. The civilians, who stayed and lived their lives, represent the fight for Sarajevo. The narratives about the war confirm the opposition between “them”, the ones who attacked the city, and “us” the citizens of the city, the ones who stayed and fought. The narratives tell a story that civilians were killed because they were Sarajevans. There are stories of how Sarajevans managed to defend the city fighting with old and scarce equipment.

In sum, the school introduces the important memorial days to the students and the meaning of those days are transferred to the new generation. In that way, the importance of these is internalised and embodied. The school’s practice of keeping alive the memory of certain events is one of the crucial factors that contribute to the creation of local and national identity. The important days create nation-ness, the feeling of belonging to a nation. As stated above by reference to different memorial days being celebrated in other parts of the country, these projects are introduced through schooling and the practise continues through adult life.

Social capital: Schooling and the future leaders

Bourdieu's term of social capital is of crucial importance for an understanding of the importance of the entrance to and attendance in the grammar school for future career and life. Bourdieu defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu 1986: 248).

As previously mentioned, Bourdieu's thinking implies that the different fields are fields of power. Likewise, the two schools are two different fields of power, and the students attending make acquaintances they interact with. First, the students are offered a specific cultural capital by attending the school as they interact and share their cultural capital with their peers. Second, the importance of the network which is formed in school was confirmed by a student:

"I am quite optimistic (about the future) because I will be educated..like all of my peers as well.. I do quite often talk with them about what we would do.. we've even talked about forming a new political party.. I think to be a member of a group of young, well-educated people that will initiate something and that is why I think that the future will be brighter.."

The student was one of a group of students in the grammar school who uttered a wish of forming a political party. All students did not have the same goal, though most wanted were focused on having a good career and working in a place where they can do something important and contribute. The students in this school are to be analysed as peers who are socialising and forming networks that they will benefit from in the future. In the future the peers will hold important positions.

Especially as the Bosnian society is characterised by relations of reciprocity and personal favours the importance of having a social network is crucial. The persons in the Bosnian society benefit from their network regarding access to information, advice and recommendations in various aspects of social life and institutional life. The latter may include everything from the job market to who is the best hairdresser in town. Especially in a post-socialist and post-war society people rely on their networks for strategies of survival.

As mentioned above the students had intentions of keeping in touch after graduating secondary schooling. The friendships that the students make through education are likely to last during adult and professional life as well. Furthermore, through my network of people in Sarajevo, I realised that there was a significant percentage of those who were introduced to their partner through their social network, which consisted of people who share the same preferences and belong to the same social class.

To sum up, the students benefit from their attendance in the school as they are a part of the peer group who think in a certain way and who have certain dispositions regarding the future. In the future the social networks that are formed in the grammar school are likely to be fruitful for economic and cultural capital in the future as well.

The Importance of Symbolic Capital

To sum up, the grammar school as an institution and field of power is a place where symbolic capital is situated and where cultural and social capital are formed, resulting in production of symbolic capital. The latter resources are symbolised by the sum of alma mater's capitals which are accumulation of knowledge and networks.

In other words, the students attending the grammar school are more likely to continue accumulating cultural capital by attending higher education studies. The accumulation is documented by marking. Furthermore, the accumulation of cultural capital increases the chances of an individual, and in this case the peer group, to transfer the cultural capital to other forms of capital. In addition the networks of peers who create relations during the stay in alma mater are of crucial importance. As studies have shown, social capital to which access is gained by attending grammar school is likely to contribute to other forms of capital. In line with Bourdieu's assumption peers are likely to make use of their network in future life in various fields. In sum the capitals form the symbolic capital of individuals that belong to the peer group. In general, the peer group is more likely to gain favourable and prestigious social positions in a society. Thus, the stay in this alma mater is likely to increase the symbolic

capital of the students. This is to say, the alma mater's contribution to the formation of habitus by informing about aspects of cultural capital contributes to the peers increased chances of success later in working life and in the society in general. A social actor's chances of forming its cultural-, social-, economic- and symbolic capital in a favourable/desired direction are made more probable by admission to grammar school.

The Vocational School

The socioeconomic background of the students

“Everyone knows who has and who has not.”

According to the students in the vocational school, they were aware that their economic situation is not favourable and that other people are in possession of what they are not, money. Also, this group expressed that one of their top concerns is the economic situation and impoverishment. The latter concern can be analysed in contrast to the grammar school students who were more focused on their personal ambitions.

Regarding economic capital in the vocational school in general there is a contrast to the grammar school. In the vocational school most of the students that I became familiar with belong to the working class. According to Bourdieuan theory these students' dispositions differ due to their socioeconomic background. The dispositions can be analysed in relation to other forms of capital than merely cultural.

At first glance the clothing is not the most visible aspect of economic inequality, though I noticed that there were differences. The students wear jeans, a t-shirt or a sweater and sneakers. In particular, during the first weeks I do remember one boy who apparently had only two sweaters that he wore. As time passed I noticed that in general there are visible differences regarding clothing style compared to the grammar school. By looking closely at the clothes that some of the students in the vocational school wear some symbols can be identified as significant in a comparison between the two schools. There were fewer students that wore Lacoste and other popular brand sneakers in the vocational school. Also, there were more students who had clothes that can be characterised as street style. Some had a flashy t-shirt, a watch or some accessories considered as bling-bling. In light of Bourdieuan theory on taste there were differences that made a difference. Certain symbols of clothing were regarded as more characteristic to the specific classes.

Besides, one of the teachers stated that it is most important for her and her colleagues that students have notebooks as many of them cannot afford textbooks. In addition, some of the students in the vocational school had bad teeth, some were thinner and some seemed tired or exhausted. During a talk with two of the teachers they explained to me that some of the

students live under poor conditions. The teachers referred to the parents' unemployment or bad health that is a contributing factor to the socioeconomic conditions. There are students who travel a long way to get to the school. Furthermore, I was told that in the vocational school, the terms describing what in medical terms would be called diagnoses, characterised by learning difficulties and abnormal behaviour, were greater in number than in grammar schools.

The Experience of Everyday Life in the Vocational School

"I would like to finish the schooling, that is my goal.. Now, I am trying to finish this schooling. No matter how.. but it seems like there is no end to this.(laughing)" (Eldin , male student, vocational school)

As previously described I spent the first months of my fieldwork in the grammar school, while during the rest of my stay in Sarajevo I scheduled between being in the two schools. This resulted in a closer look at the everyday life in the grammar school and a comparative perspective which would not have been possible without participating in everyday life in the vocational school. The periods of absence from the environment in both of the schools were fruitful due to the observational distance that offered me several opportunities to gain a renewed impression of aspects of schooling.

My first impression of the vocational high school was focused on the contrast to the grammar school. What struck me as contrasting is the lively atmosphere as the students are more noisy and loud. Quite frequently, they comment on the teachers' statements and they keep telling jokes. In, general the interaction is characterized by a lot of noise, sometimes even during the lessons. As the quote above suggests school is not experienced as a positive place and the student quoted describes education as never-ending struggle. In contrast to the girls' descriptions of life in the grammar school, the school environment in the vocational school does not seem to fit Eldin. To the latter student the schooling and the learning situations do not bring forth feelings of pleasure. This may be seen in line with the feeling of failure. Eldin can be analysed as a student that, in contrast to Elma, has not been taught to like schooling. Eldin's does not benefit from his familial background. In respect to this, Bourdieu writes that privilege *"is only noticed in its crudest forms of operation- recommendations or connections,*

help with schoolwork or extra teaching, information about education and employment.”

(Bourdieu 1979:20) Hence, Elma can be described as privileged while Eldin can be analysed as not privileged when taking into account the *primary habitus*.

Being familiar with the Norwegian educational system and especially vocational education, the atmosphere in the Vocational school was not new to me. I soon recognized the same interactions in the classroom and attitudes to teaching and learning. The students were not prepared for the class like the students in the Grammar school and there are no notebooks and pens in front of them when the teacher started teaching. At first, some refused to copy the text from the blackboard to their notebooks, though later they did obey. In general, the students prefer oral activity to long lectures and writing. Even assessment is preferred to listening to the teachers' lectures. Statements similar to "*It is better to try to solve a task than sit and write*", were frequent.

The observations reminded me that this group of students in Sarajevo does not prefer lectures to vocational practice periods, similar to the students who attend the Norwegian vocational system. There were students who were absent from lessons, while some did not show up for days. Regarding the interaction, the students were interrupting each other and often they were not paying attention to the teaching. In addition, some were using words that are considered as swearing which would have been seen as not being cultivated.

In sum, the cultural capital that characterised life in the educational system is more familiar to the students in the grammar school than to the students in the vocational school. This is manifested in both the experience of school life and the degree to which the students succeed in the institutional life. This implies that the schooling system can be analysed as a system of inclusion and exclusion. The latter aspect will be exemplified in the following.

Symbolic Capital in the Vocational School

The following abstracts from my field notes describe interaction and the negotiation in the classroom. It includes the attempt, carried out by a teacher, to explain how important knowledge learnt at school is. The students' willingness to work was varying and it was noisy until the teacher started the speech.

"The teacher informs the students and reads the names of the students that are about to fail in the different subjects and tells them which subject they need to improve their knowledge in. Especially in Bosnian language there are many that risk failing. The students are told that there have been many warnings prior to this one, and that if all the warnings are not sufficient to make them improve, there is nothing the teacher can do for the students. They are also reminded that a month of the summer vacation spent in front of the school bench is a waste of time. Perhaps some do remember this from last year's experience, the teacher says. She ends the first part of the lesson by stating that she believes that they know what the right thing to do is. Silence. Then she asks them what culture is. It is more silent in the room. She says that she will not give the grade "one" to any student as a gift.. She goes on to explain that the society serves nationalism and an ethnic discourse. She advises the students to stay away from trouble and to learn to protect themselves. "Learn! Knowledge is capital", she says. Then she starts to look in her bag for the test papers and she realises that she has not brought them with her. As she leaves the room to bring the test papers, the atmosphere is quiet and serious. As soon as she is in the hallway the students start to talk. Suddenly, one student looks at me saying: "It must be the sun. It must have affected her." I smile and some students laugh and comment approving the explanation. Then, another student says: "God, please let me get a "two"(referring to marking). A couple of minutes later the professor arrives and asks the students questions about the highest mountain and similar questions regarding general knowledge. She says that there is a difference between the "betting places" in town and the quizzes on television. "If you bet, you will lose. If you know the answer, you will win." She decides to question the students on verbs and numbers, and they are asked to give examples on the imperfektum form, the futurum form and other verb tenses, as well as the three types of numbers. She goes on to phonetics, morphology, syntax and semantics. One student is asked a question, and he comments that "I will answer, it is better to answer than to write." The rest of the group looks at him. He doesn't come up with the correct answer and gets the lowest grade, one. The remaining time of the lesson the group is quite silent."

First the latter quote was stated as a comment to the students' attitude to schooling and school knowledge. In contrast to the students in the grammar school the vocational school students' attitude towards the knowledge that is seen as valid in the school setting was characterised by less ambition and less will to try to achieve a good grade.

Secondly, it is fruitful to analyse the latter quote in relation to the exercise of power. In the quote the teacher applies her cultural capital as resources in her interaction with the students. Here we assume that in a school setting it is required that a student is in possession of certain resources. In the classroom, certain students possess more resources than others and are marked with a higher mark. Others are not in possession of the required resources and thus these are marked with a lower mark or they are told that they have failed. Especially learning of linguistic terms and applying these seemed like a challenge to the vocational school students.

In the quote the teacher interpreted the students' behaviour as ignorance toward school knowledge and what she regards as important knowledge. Therefore the teacher held a speech and she was hoping to make the students more obedient. The teacher applied terms and talked in a way that expressed aspects on the values in life. Here the teacher stressed what she considers as the right way of acting in the school setting. Like Elma the teacher did not see any other ways of acting as right and hence the teacher implied that there is something wrong with the students' way of looking at the world. This way of reasoning can be analysed as violence expressed by the teacher. Hence her position as having a more privileged status than the students can be seen in relation to symbolic capital. The teacher is in possession of symbolic capital and applies her understanding of the world in her interaction with the students.

In the previous part of the chapter I suggested that it is argued that it is fruitful to apply Bourdieuan terms on the ethnography from the two characteristically different schools. During my talks and interviews with the students in the two schools I realised that there were

differences regarding the way the students imagine their future. In the next part I will point to another aspect that is relevant when comparing the two schools, the way the two groups imagine the future.

Dispositions and Future Orientation

“According to Bourdieu, for whom the concept of dispositions was linked primarily to social class and social stratification, dispositions guide the actions of social agents through future-oriented perceptions of chances for success or failure. An illustration of this lies in the emotions of negative self-image discerned in the habitus of working-class children at school, as they anticipated the failure that awaited them.” (Reed-Danahay 2005:108-109)

According to Reed-Danahay Bourdieu describes social agents that through an unconscious internalization of negative self-image actively contribute to the realization of their expectations (2005:109). Reed-Danahay describes how Bourdieu described the students by a negative attitude fail in a school setting. The failure is based on previous experiences, and due to this it is the past that has produced the present thinking and not actual future-thinking.

Bourdieu offers a statistical and thus quantitative approach to distribution of economic capital and chances of attending higher education (1979). In contrast to Bourdieu’s study, this thesis does not include interviews with parents that would state reproduction of capitals, though it is obvious to assume that this is likely to occur. As previously described, in general the two schools represent two classes. In line with the differences in ambitions between the students that attend the two schools it is likely that the students’ class belonging has implications for their perception of their future possibilities. The following two excerpts illustrate the two significantly different ways of reasoning about and imagining the future.

“I see myself as developing. I don’t think that the restrictive factor should be for instance our age. That I am 30 and that I can’t go further.. I am of such spirit that I think that one can always learn.. a human can all the time get better..”(Elma, grammar school)

“Everything is relative, I do not know what will happen. Well, maybe some end up in jail, some die, all stuff can happen in life.. (Eldin, vocational school)

The students in the grammar school were certain and told me about their future plans of going through a university education in order to have a successful career. In general there was an attitude towards schooling as a possibility to live a good life. Education and career were seen as the right choices in life. A female student stated that:

“I want to go through university studies, to know that I have achieved something in life- to have a new start when I get my first job.”

The latter quote, *to achieve something*, can be analysed in light of Bourdieu’s studies as to refer to a judgment of whether a person is a whole man which means an academic or not. Bourdieu writes that academics are not alone in regarding the academic man as the whole man (Bourdieu 1979:45). Thus this aspect of self-realisation is a norm in the grammar school.

Another student stated that: *“Maybe some of my friends will be politicians in the future. Younger people are the solution to political problems.”*

The working class children were more likely to have an ambiguous future orientation. Perhaps, the fear of failure is not uttered, though I got an impression that there is a concern about not succeeding. The students that I met in the vocational school were less certain about what their goals and ambitions were. Looking through my field notes, I realised that the students had explained that a job was the most important thing to them. Because *“when you have money, you can do everything- while when you don’t have (money), you only suffer in/through life..”* In this respect the wish for getting a job might be interpreted in relation to Bourdieu’s thoughts on symbolic domination which is manifested in preference of knowledge which I described in chapter three. According to Bourdieu knowledge that is practical due to instant needs is preferred by individuals who belong to the dominated class.

In short, the two groups of students were reasoning about the future in different ways. This can be describe by reference to images of landscape. While the students who were socially better off paint a more optimistic and concrete picture, the students of the vocational school belonging to lower social class think of a more opaque future, not having clear ideas about it.

Naturalising Inequality: Giftedness

Bourdieu (1979) describe how inequalities in the educational system are described as differences in giftedness. As previously mentioned Bourdieu's theory is based on a study of the French culture and he notes that: *"It cannot be ruled out that the teacher who contrasts the "brilliant" or "gifted" with the "earnest" or "hardworking" student is in a good many cases, judging nothing other than the relation to culture to which each is socially assigned by birth."*(1979:24)

In the Bosnian context, "giftedness" was often described. The teachers and the students were telling about how gifted individuals are, while the failure of others was explained as *"the school is not for him"*. In Bourdieuan terms, this is described as naturalising inequality. Bourdieu explains mobility as *"For some, the learning of elite culture is a conquest paid for in effort; for others, it is heritage, which implies both facility and the temptations of facility."* The utterance of the previously mentioned student, Elma, can be analysed in light of Bourdieu's study. Though the school is expected to give equal opportunities it leads to the students attending there are aspects of schooling in which success can be analysed in relation to the capitals.

As previously stated, I spent more time in the grammar school than in the vocational school. Hence, the data collection in the grammar school was more extensive. The data presented in next chapter is mainly based on the views of students in the grammar school, and should be seen in relation to that fact.

Chapter 6: The Curricula and the Political Culture

In this chapter the crucial focus is to arrive at a meaningful understanding of the preferences of political behaviour that young adults state when addressing the issue of political life. First, I will describe the political framework in BiH. Secondly I will analyse the practise of the term political socialisation by reference to the teaching program and the students' statements on the political situation. Thirdly, the students' reasoning about the political sphere will be analysed as well as the issue of the origins of the statements.

Contextualising the Political Situation and Political Life in BiH

"If nothing is done, Bosnia and Herzegovina will remain imprisoned in a 19th century mindset, handcuffed by 20th century technology, and unable to keep pace in a changing 21st century world. That should be as unacceptable to all of you as it is to us." (Charles English 2009)

The rhetoric presented above is a part of a speech given by the former US Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Sarajevo. It is a comment on the economic and political situation in the country and the ambassador urges the political leaders to act responsibly and "to think of the lives of the ordinary citizens they claim to serve" (English 2009). In addition to the US Embassy, the international community's presence and supervision in the country is represented by various actors like the OHR/EUSR, the EU Delegation, OSCE, the World Bank, UNICEF and CoE¹⁵. Regularly the international community publishes press releases on the aspects that regard the political situation in the country. Kolouh-Westin notes that the country is a semi-protectorate as the OHR is the constitutional authority which oversees the implementation of the civilian aspects of the Dayton agreement. Thus, there is an implementation of democracy and human rights from above (Kolouh-Westin). Utterances as the one quoted above are also presented by the voices that are represented in the local media, and by the media itself.

¹⁵ Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Office of the High Representative Office of the High Representative (OHR) was established to oversee the implementation of civilian aspects of the Dayton agreement. and European Union Special Representative?. Delegation of the European Union to Bosnia and Herzegovina (EU Delegation), The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Council of Europe(CoE)

Most important the political climate in BiH is characterized by ethnocracy and nationalism manifested in the nationalist leaders' language based on "a culture of fear", which refers to the demonization of the "others", in order to secure their own political and economic interests (see Kolouh-Westin :16).

Everyday life in Sarajevo and even worse in the rest of the country is a challenge due to the unemployment rates and the worsening food prices. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) established the poverty rate at 300KM (convertible marks), or roughly €150, per month, and the poverty rate was at 18.6% in 2007 (CIA). In 2009 the unemployment rate was at 44.2 % (CIA). Furthermore, it is important to stress that the post-war events have led to class stratification, which is described in chapter 5. Though during the Yugoslavia period an imbalance existed between the ones who belonged to the party and the ones who did not, the standard of living for most people was acceptable. As previously stated, the socialist and thus collectivist values that were promoted and rewarded were based on community and discipline. The transition from state-planned economy to a multi-party system has brought about challenges to prevent corruption and introduce the citizens to the values of democracy. During the last decade individualist based values have been introduced and the system is expected to promote individual initiative, critical spirit and tolerance for expressions of identity. Kolouh-Westin states that in the contemporary situation there is a revival of the values of religion, nationalism and monarchy (Kolouh-Westin). BiH is still struggling to implement democratic values which are required on its long way to European integration through the European Union.

The media reports that the economic imbalance between the poor and the well-off is increasing. On a daily basis people read about the economic catastrophe. The governance is known for being inefficient, and unnecessary huge amounts of the budgets are spent on bureaucracy. Kolouh-Westin notes that the country is dependent on external funding which leads to vulnerability to current ideological trends. In addition, according to Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index 2010, BiH ranks 91 out of 178 listed from the cleanest (Denmark) to the most corrupt (Somalia). The latter facts are manifested in all institutions in society.

In general there is a degree of yearning for a welfare state in the post-war and post-Yugoslavian context, and a demand that the state provides basic material security. Regarding my main informants a result of the political situation and the uncertainties in the town is the police hour from 23.00 for all young adults under 18. During the course of the interviews that were conducted towards the end of the study the students explained their thoughts about politics regarding their attitudes and interpretation of the contemporary situation in the country. In terms of Bosnian thinking of politicians, a student stated: *“they (the politicians) are busier with other problems than the actual and important problems”*. In general during the data collection in Sarajevo in the two schools, the students expressed dissatisfaction with politicians and the political life in the country. The latter quote is representative for the general evaluation of the political life in BiH.

Political Socialisation in Practice: the Gap Between Reality and the Curricula

The schooling that the students are introduced to in the course of “Democracy and Human Rights” is focused on preparing the students to participate in a democracy by acquiring the knowledge and the skills needed. One of the aims is to raise awareness about what citizens can expect from a state, what rights a civic society has and more important the crucial role of civic society in a democratic state. The students are introduced to democratic values, division of power and the laws according to that a government is expected to rule. Other themes include the role of the media and the international organisations, the importance of compromise in conflicts, aspects of foreign politics and the relations between BiH and other countries. As described in chapter three, the subject of Democracy and Human Rights was developed by international organisations and due to its characteristics there is an indoctrination of positive attitudes towards democratic values. According to the teaching plan, the students are expected to develop attitudes and values of trust towards the democratic society in which the government’s primary goal is to guarantee human rights and equality for all citizens.

In sum, during the lessons in the subject Democracy and Human Rights” the students are presented to the ideal image of a democratic and trustworthy society. It is argued that this

ideal is characterised by justice and rules which prevent the opposite. The fostering of positive attitudes and trust towards a democratic state is sought by engaging students in discussions and projects based on research questions which are relevant in the contemporary society. Also lessons' aim is to contribute to an active civic society in the future.

As previously stated the communist rule during the Yugoslavia period was characterised by collective values and the citizens were expected to submit their interests for the collective good. Thus, there was not a lively civic society and critical thought was sanctioned by the state. In contemporary BiH which is a young democracy that argues to intend to spread democratic values, the students stressed that the mass-media headlines' do not correspond to the curricula ideal of a society and political leadership. The students expressed their thoughts about what they experienced as a gap between what they learn at school and the social and political aspects of the society that they belong to. In the following I will describe the aspects of the gap between the ideal society which the students have been presented to through schooling and the contemporary Bosnian society.

Especially the students stated that there are challenges of knowing what a citizen is in the position to claim in the public sphere and what the legal rights of a citizen are. Commenting on the lessons in the subject Democracy and Human Rights, a female student stressed the importance of knowing about ones rights as a citizen:

"I am not saying that we are not to be blamed.. there are many things we young people should know, but that we don't know. Some information is not reaching us, but should.. Everything from our rights as student, to all what we can do.. we don't know what to do. We'd probably start some initiatives if we knew how it works. We are not getting the information. Now, in the third grade we have started to get that basic of democracy. If we had not had the professor in democracy, we would not know anything. For instance, we would not know that we have the right to ask to not to have more than two tests per week. No professor had told us this before." (Maja, the grammar school)

The female student discusses the importance of knowing one's rights in order to act as a member of the civic society. She emphasizes the importance of the teaching in the school, and refers to the content in the subject. The knowledge that is introduced in the school is necessary and important to the students as citizens, according to the student. One can assume that the student refers to the society in general as well. The teacher in this subject's role performance can be analysed as important as it is during the lessons in this subject that attitudes on aspects of political life are formed.

Moreover, the students were critical to the rule of the political leaders and the voting of their parent generation and what a student called "our mentality".

"They should lead people towards goals.. but I think that politics serves only to achieve the realization of personal interests. They should do something good for us, but all we see and what they do is that they are attacking eachother.. We could change this if the people were to get educated and if people had the wish to change.. We didn't know of the choices we have before this subject Democracy was introduced. That we can replace government every time we don't like it.. if it is not doing what it promised it'd do before the elections. There are instruments to do this. But our people us used to the system let someone rule over me, I'll be below.. And people are not fighting, but rather say that this is destined.. and they (people) vote for the same (political party) every time. They say that it is the same, all of it." (Elma, grammar school)

The student quoted stated that the politicians, which are referred to as "they", do not serve the people as they should according to their promises in the election campaign and as they should according to the ideal image of a democracy. The politicians are expected to show leadership towards goals and achievement of positive changes. The politicians express ethnic based verbal violence and accuse other politicians. It seems like the students accuse politicians of acting in a too personal way in their positions as representatives. In sum, the politicians are not acting or ruling according to the curricular knowledge the students have been presented to.

Moreover, especially the lack of expression of dissatisfaction by their parents' generation is viewed as wrong. The students interpret the older generations as not updated when it comes to how the system is expected to function. The students have been taught that a government that voters are not satisfied with can be replaced by a new government. According to the student the problem with older generations is what the student describes as mentality which is understood in relation to their misunderstanding of the power of the people in a democracy. The parent generation has a lack of belief in change and accepts status quo, according to the students. In sum, the students interpret the political situation as a product of actors that do not know how to act in the political system according to the rules of a democracy. The older generations are also held responsible for the present political situation.

Another student stated that:

"We are still a country in transition, we are looking for a political option.. in the meanwhile- we have this special mentality that though we are looking at someone and though we know that this person is not able to achieve we vote for the one we think that "is ours". This means that we vote according to nation-belonging and religious belonging. I do agree, it is normal that one of yours is closer and sees you better, even in my family.. but when we see that someone is doing something that is not in our interest, he is not our man." (Haris ,male student, grammar school)

The latter student explains that he understands the logic of the parents' generation and why older generations vote according to ethnic belonging. More explicitly, the students confirm their parents' attitudes of trusting a politician that belongs to the same ethnic group. In line with curricular knowledge the student explained that he does not think that the logic of their parents is to be viewed as correct if the goal is a better society. In sum, the student explains the ambivalences of voting according to democratic values in a country where there are fresh war memories. Still, the politicians that do not work for the best of the society as a whole are seen as immoral. The political world as characterised by immorality will be explained in the following.

Theorising *Politika* as a Moral Category

In order to arrive at a meaningful understanding of political socialisation it is fruitful to describe and analyse the characteristics that the students apply when reasoning about local politicians. In this respect, it is important to mention Torsten Kolind's study of post-war life in a small ethnically mixed town, where the author describes his informants' anti-nationalistic counter-discourse which is strongly rooted in pre-war life (Kolind 2008). Kolind's informants, a minority in the town of Stolac in Herzegovina, categorize people according to the acts they do and not according to their inherited ethno-religious group. Opposed to the private sphere represented by family, the political sphere is seen as immoral. *Politika* means politics in the local language.

The informants often uttered a difference between "good people" and "bad people", and they did not prefer to talk about the difference between the ethnic categories. In line with Kolind, I will argue that this distinction is based on morals and acts. Politicians were the prototype of bad people, "them", in contrast of men in the streets, who were in the "one of us" category. My informants did often express the opinion of politicians as corrupt and not decent people. Kolind describes this same distance between politics and everyday life. The worst "*of them all are our, Bosniak, politicians*". A lot of the people that I met stated the same view on their community- which is represented by politicians, as not being able to unite and work towards a common goal. According to Kolind the descriptions of politics as immoral are to be seen as counter-discourse in the Bosnian contexts.

A female student explained that she did not like the world of politics because she had been taught by her father that a man that goes into politics cannot stay good. According to the girl the reason is that the world of politics is cruel and immoral. Especially, the grammar school students described the local politicians as *unprofessional, uneducated not adequate* for their jobs and *lazy*.

The characteristic *unprofessional* was applied by several students, who reason that "*they accuse each other, hurt each other, they hit the citizens in places where it hurt the most.*" (Amir, male student, grammar school)

According to the students the politicians are unprofessional because of the way they behave in the public sphere, and especially the improper use of language in order to hurt or insult other nations. The students have been taught that a politician should act in a professional way and this description does not refer to the local politicians. Also, there were two students who commented that the local politicians did not act as professionals in the public sphere like other leaders do. When describing this they referred to world leaders who acted properly and showed strength and determinism. According to the students politicians should act as professionals like the leaders they see on television. The latter attitude can be seen in relation to Jaan Vaalsiner's description of the fact that American politics has borrowed the skills of acting out political dramas from Hollywood. According to the writer the sphere of American politics is played by actors who play their roles in politically correct ways (Hess and Torney 2006:xv).

In addition, the characteristic of politicians as being *uneducated* and *not adequate* was frequently used by journalists, and students were critical of politicians' who had an education which made them unqualified for the job. Also, there were several students who stated that they knew of politicians who had not gone through higher education. A student wondered: *"For instance, a Minister of Health could be a person that has been studying electro engineering. What is his job in the Ministry?"* (Eldin, male student, vocational school)

The latter statement and statements on politicians' level of education may as well be interpreted in the context of the Bosnian culture where knowledge and education is viewed as crucial to a person's legitimacy in the public sphere, including the life as a professional.

The characteristics of politicians as being *lazy* may refer to the widespread experience of lack of development in the country. In this context the development stands for economic improvement. The politicians are seen as not hard-working and they are as well as being prone to corruption. The institutional life was viewed as one where:

"You have to make your own way, nothing comes to you being honest. Everything happens with the connection which we call uncles&fathers. To fix stuff. You have to. No matter how

hard you work, if someone is on the uncle & father connection, then you can't earn anything." (Haris, male student, grammar school)

According to the students politicians serve the needs of their families and corruption is often manifested in familial relations. The students stressed that personal relations contributed to an unfair system where access to resources was gained through personal relations. The latter can be analysed in the post-socialist context as this informal system of resource distribution was common during the Yugoslavia period.

Another student stated that: *"They are not doing much and still they are well-paid. They should agree on some laws for us to be better off, but they can't agree- this goes on and on..I don't see any development. They should let the younger ones govern. I don't see any positive politician. They are only looking for opportunities on how to improve their own situation, and not the interests of the people...to secure themselves as much wealth as possible while they have the power to secure a better life for themselves.. It is hard to get a job and the family of the ones who govern do easily get jobs."*

As previously stated, the students showed distrust to politicians because of the state of the country and corruption was seen as widespread and it was applied to all aspects of the society. Thus, politicians misunderstand their own role and their families benefit from their positions. The payment of politicians is viewed as unfair because of the lack of results due to which the society as a whole would benefit. In sum, the political sphere can be analysed as immoral due to the students applied characteristics such as *unprofessional, inadequate, uneducated and lazy* which are associated with negative values.

The teaching plan states a focus on the trust towards a democratic leadership, though the ethnography does not show a manifestation of this. The following will address the origins of the reasons to distrust towards institutions.

The origins of distrust regarding institutional life

According to scholarly contributions on societies in Eastern-Europe the descriptions of people's distrust towards institutional life is based on past experiences towards the government and public institutions. Descriptions of Eastern-Europe analyse the state as repressive and totalitarian. As previously stated, during the Yugoslavia period people were taught to worship collective values and the state socialism and authoritative government was not prone to favour the political rights of the citizens. Also, members of the socialist party did benefit from their membership in various ways compared to people who did not support the party. In addition, the fact that the private and the public spheres were kept separate during Yugoslavia, led to sanctions towards individuals who did not maintain this separation. Hence, due to the ideology and practise of the socialist state there were people who did not regard the institutional life as trustworthy. However, most of the people that worked or attended the schools described the political past and everyday life as better than the present rule and day-to-day experiences of its consequences. When asked about the past the students stated either that they have heard from the older generations that it was better and two students stated that they are not sure: *"I am not up-dated on that.. I suppose it was okay.. I wasn't even born... Well, I have heard... I don't know.. They say that it was a lot better during Yugoslavia.. and before the war."*

As previously mentioned the students have grown up without first-hand experience of Yugoslav-state including state planned economy and collective values. In general there were very few adults who regarded the Yugoslavia period as only subjugation, though the students did mention indoctrination of values as characteristics and in a way negative. Also, the descriptions of indoctrination were told in a rather witty way than serious manner.

In sum, it is fruitful to analyse the students' attitudes of distrust towards institutional life as to a degree based on experiences and attitudes transferred from their parents' generation. Coles notes that the children he met "learn to express what their parents feel and often enough say, loud and clear" (Coles 1986:36). However, the attitudes of the students are also the product of experiences in relation to the present day situation. Schwartz (1975:18) notes the school's influence in socialization of political values and argues that family's influence diminishes during an individual's course of life. As previously acknowledged the thesis' limitation is the lack of broad access to the private sphere and thus representative data on parents' attitudes is not available. However it is likely that the socialisation of political attitudes is fruitful to be

seen in relation to the familial socialisation as well as the socialisation that happens through the media and in school, especially during the lessons of Democracy and Human Rights.

In line with Kolind the students attitudes towards present political life may be analysed as interplay between the attitudes and opinions fostered in the familial life of the student and the fostering that takes place through schooling. During the case studies in Democracy and Human Rights the students were eager to participate and find solutions to contemporary problems. Often they would realise that the solutions of the present politicians are negative and no real solutions.

Thus, it is likely that the distrust is based on both their own and their parents' present experiences of political life. Because as a student noted: *"They (the politicians) do not listen to us. They only care about themselves"*. In general the lifestyle of the present day politicians is described in opposition to people's everyday:

"The financial crisis in the newspapers.. It will come.. we won't have food... And the two ministers of finance buy new appartements of 270 000 KM! Where is that okay? It is not.. And there are other people.. Like I know,.. I am everywhere.. I am friend with everyone and I know of people who do not have food.. And others have everything.. But okay, it is all about luck.." (Eldin, male student, grammar school)

As previously mentioned, students viewed the politicians as having a lack of responsibility towards their people and society. Some students did also describe the circumstances of the economic crisis as some people having a lot and others not. The latter quote was uttered by a student in the vocational school. In general, politicians are accused of being egocentric and of only making sure that their families benefit.

Furthermore, since the practice of democracy is a relatively recent way of thinking in BiH the students expressed that they saw challenges and ambivalence when politicians are elected, by the older generations, in a democratic way. According to the students, people still do not make the right decisions. Quotes similar to the following are abundant in my field notes: *"The goal should be for Bosnia to develop, and not that our politicians should agree on something. That is very difficult."*

Also while the students were preparing presentations of a case study for a lesson the next day a similar statement was made. The case study focused on how to solve the city's problems with crowdedness and the lack of parking lots. A student in the grammar school wanted me to suggest some solutions, and as I tried to help him he said in a funny way- *"I think that the best would be if we could find some foreigners to do this task. They know how to do it, how to solve problems. Perhaps you could ask those Norwegians of yours to solve it"*.

The belief in Western countries as better organized is widespread, and this belief is extended to the opinion that there are locals who are not working for the common good of the society. There exists, for instance, a shared view on Germans as very hardworking, efficient and good at planning. I started thinking on how this student imagines the good work ethics of the foreigner, in contrast to the work ethics in the institutional life in BiH. Similarly to Kolind's description the local politicians were described as incapable of making decisions and the role of the international representatives was seen as solution and a security to the society.

According to the students the best contemporary solution is law-making and control by international organisations and the OHR. The parent generation is not in the position of acting in a responsible way.

Concluding remarks and future perspectives

This thesis has aimed to explore the research question of how does education contribute to the maintenance of social and cultural belonging. Aspects of the nation-building process have been analysed throughout the thesis by a focus on elite identity. The anthropological method of describing experiences from participant observations in a Bosnian schooling has been applied to look at the unique educational system which can be analysed in relation to the historical events that have formed it.

First, in order to arrive at a meaningful understanding of the dynamics in the Bosnian habitus I have analysed the school arena as a place where the culturally valued knowledge can be identified. In line with the aim the contemporary teaching in the Bosnian language and literature (*Bosanski jezik i književnost*), Cultures of Religions (*Kultura Religija*), Democracy and Human Rights (*Demokratija i Ljudska Prava*) and Philosophy (*Filozofija*) has been described and analysed. In chapter four, I have applied descriptions from a few teaching situations to present an insight in what I experienced as the specific Bosnian schooling context.

Also, I have analysed the culturally valued knowledge as central to the concept of *biti kulturan* which refers to being cultivated and sophisticated. Here I have analysed the term with the schooling context and I have implied that this knowledge can be seen as more easily gained for the dominant classes.

In addition I have analysed the teachers' role in the classroom arena and implied that the teachers negotiate attitudes on contemporary debates in the society in general.

Second, as the fieldwork was conducted in a grammar school, which symbolises the more theoretical and sophisticated knowledge, and a vocational school, where the students prefer more practical knowledge, this thesis has also aimed to explore the social aspect of belonging. I have implied that in a post-war context there is maintenance of social belonging due to the poor and fragile social conditions.

Third, chapter six concludes on aspects of political socialisation of the young generation. In short, the students stated that there is contempt of the present political situation and the

politicians at rule. More precisely the contempt is due to the reasoning about the gap between the ideal of how a civic society should act and how politicians are expected to respond, which presented in the curricula, and the everyday manifestations of incapability of the contemporary politicians. The pro-democratic curriculum is manifested in the thoughts of the younger generation.

There were several students who stressed that they hope that the younger generations will bring change. These stated utterances similar to the student from the grammar school who was ambitious about the future life : *“Maybe some of my friends will be politicians in the future. Younger people are the solution to political problems.”*

Though for a transition to fully take place the older generations and the politicians need to act according to democratic values, which is ambivalent.

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